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Ten Epochs of Church History

Edited by

John Fulton, D.D., LL.D.

Vol. II.

Ten Epochs of Church History

THE POST-APOSTOLIC AGE

BY

LUCIUS WATERMAN, D.D.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

HENRY CODMAN POTTER, D.D., LL.D.

BISHOP OF NEW YORK

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INTRODUCTION.

THE demand for the series of volumes of which this is one is an interesting witness to an interesting and significant situation. Church histories have been hitherto of chief if not of exclusive interest to scholars; and even within this narrow circle the demand for merely ecclesiastical histories has been narrower still. But if our age has brought nothing else with it, it has brought an instinct of historic inquiry which has, happily, largely freed itself from partisan or ecclesiastical bias, and which has learned to read and to tell the story of the Christian centuries in a larger spirit and with a more candid utterance.

To this end the whole tendency of modern scholarship, with its more critical and more independent methods, has happily contributed; and side by side with the growth of a spirit of frank and fearless inquiry, there has grown up among educated people a more intelligent judgment of historical facts, and more hearty appreciation of every endeavor to ascertain them.

It is in such a temper and with such an aim, I venture to think, that the following pages have been written; and I believe they will vindicate the wisdom and accuracy of their author's method, and

his sincere and candid purpose to seek and to tell the truth.

There are elements in the situation at the close of the nineteenth century which would seem to make them opportune. The constant enlargement of the area of our knowledge is among the most important of these. The curious and interesting history of the discovery of Versions of the Gospels has its analogy in kindred discoveries such as the "Teaching of the Twelve," which have both widened the area of historic fact and incident, and confirmed upon a surer foundation much that we already knew. In addition to the treasures of Eusebius, Tacitus and Suetonius, of Bingham, Neander, Vitringa and Routh, more recent scholarship has enriched us with the work of Bunsen, Schaff, Reuss, Ritschl, Lightfoot and Westcott; and has made the task of the student who would write the history of the second of the Christian centuries at once more interesting and less difficult by bringing into clearer light the forces and influences which, at work in the Apostolic age, projected themselves with such irresistible force into the age which immediately followed it.

Again; an element in the present situation which makes such a work as this a timely one is the emancipation of scholarship from the domination of mere ecclesiasticism. It cannot be denied that a good deal of Church history has been written with something of the art of the hired advocate; and those traditions of indirectness, of suppression, of perversion, or of deliberate mutilation, which have been

a dominant note in almost all Latin methods of dealing with the history of Christianity, and especially with anything that concerned the claims or authority of the Church, have practically vitiated the worth of much that has come down to us as Church history. No better sign has appeared of the dawn of a new era than the change, in these respects, in the methods of all but a very limited and insignificant group of Christian scholars; and the growth of a worthier aim, in this respect, is one of the most cheering signs of the times.

Still another aspect of our better learning which makes this task a timely one, is the inter-relation and mutual inter-action, in the progress of early Christianity, of forces which it is common to distinguish as respectively sacred or secular, upon each other. That the Christianity of the second century was affected by the civilization of the second century is not less true than that morals and conduct between A. D. 100 and A. D. 200 were influenced by the life and teaching of Jesus Christ. The proportions in each case were undoubtedly enormously different; but Athens and Rome made themselves felt in the unfolding of the new religion, even as the new religion thrilled and transformed those to whom it came. To trace this mutual inter-action, and to recognize its consequences is one of the tasks which it has been reserved for our time adequately to perform. It will constrain us to readjust, it may be, our estimates both of men and of events; and best of all, it will chasten our often extravagant estimates whether of the acts of indi-

viduals or of the decrees of ecclesiastical councils, to a degree which cannot but issue in the triumph of truth over ignorance, prejudice and partisanship.

Best of all, a history of the earlier ages of the Church's life written in such a spirit and with such advantages as I have indicated, cannot but contribute to the restoration of its essential unity upon the basis of essential facts. The enormous audacity which in our generation has added new dogmas to the historic creeds of Christendom, and the very novel claims of authority under which this has been done, have awakened a far wider challenge of Ultramontanism, even among its own followers, than its leaders have been willing to recognize. These cite it before the bar of history, and to that bar it must go.

Nor, as de Pressensé has reminded us, has the subject a lesser interest for those who disown the claims of the "Roman Obedience." "Before them also there are serious questions for solution both in the domain of theology and in that of the Church. There is not a single religious party which does not feel the need either of confirmation or of transformation. All the Churches born of the great movement of the sixteenth century are passing through a time of crisis. They are all asking themselves, though from various standpoints, whether the Reformation does not need to be continued and developed. Aspiration toward the Church of the future is becoming more general, more ardent. But for all who admit the divine origin of Christianity the Church of the future has its type and its ideal in

that great past which goes back not three, but eighteen centuries. To cultivate a growing knowledge of this, in order to attain to a growing conformity to it, is the task of the Church of to-day."[1]

Toward the accomplishment of that task, I venture to believe, the work of my friend the author of this volume will not unworthily contribute.

HENRY C. POTTER.

Diocesan House,
New York, July, 1898.

[1] De Pressensé. The Apostolic Age, p. 9.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

When I told a thoughtful man in my congregation that I was going to write a book of Church History, his answer was, "Then I hope you'll make it interesting." I am sorry to add that he uttered that word of hope in an unhopeful tone of voice. My friend has seemed to be interested in my preaching. He did not think it likely that he could be moved to any interest in any history of the Church. My mind has gone back to that incident many times. What a gain it would be, if we could get Christian men generally to think of the Church here on earth as the Mystical Body of our Lord, in which He dwells and works, and joys and suffers, and thus to learn to read with sympathetic interest the story of the fortunes and misfortunes of that Body, the training, through virtues and faults, of that Bride that Jesus Christ is preparing for Himself!

I have had in mind also a certain "Ladies' Historical Club" well known to me, made up of women, intelligent and studious, who inform themselves with honest ambition and hard work in the history of England and America, but feel no shame that they know almost nothing of the history of the Church, and that what they do know they generally know wrong. They think, for instance, of "the Catholic Church" as a corrupt outgrowth from original Christianity, with a "Pope" at the head of it, and

of the early bishops of Rome as "Popes," which last is exactly as unhistorical as it would be to call Queen Elizabeth "Empress of India." Surely the Kingdom of God has influenced the development of humanity more profoundly than even the British Empire. Christian history is quite as necessary to education as English history. I make bold to say, therefore, that in Chapter II. of this book I have had such "Clubs" particularly in mind. They do not as a rule read Greek, but they do read original authorities in good translations, rather than know nothing of original authorities at all. If such organizations could be induced to put Church History into their programmes, they would read (in translation at least) Barnabas and the Teaching, Clement, Hermas, Ignatius, and Polycarp. They would read books on both sides of some of the great historical controversies, and gradually make up their own minds. Then whichever way they settled their convictions, I should never say again that what they knew, they knew wrong, for whether their opinions were mine, or the opposite of mine, they would be worthy of respect.

A reviewer in the London "*Guardian*" has twice suggested lately that a historian's business is to unroll his facts like the pictures of a panorama,—so, at least I have understood the criticism,—and not come before the curtain to lecture on them. This advice I have wished to lay to heart. Yet there are persons who are so little accustomed to visiting panoramas of this kind that the movements of the figures would be unintelligible, and so uninteresting, to them, un-

less some one came forward to explain a little here and there. If I have put my own views of the history before the history itself more than the interests of the audience that I had in my eye required, it is a crime of which I hope that I may live to repent.

For those readers, in particular, who have never trodden this way before, I have tried to be an honest guide, fairly indicating to them the places where another might guide them altogether differently. At least, I have taken special pains to point this out in dealing with the origins of the Christian Ministry. In every historical study different men are found taking different views. In the latter part of this volume there seemed to be much less need of reminder concerning such differences than in the earlier.

A few additional suggestions may be made here. (1) A critical friend thinks the note on p. 79 wholly unfair to a distinguished scholar, "as most unrepresentative of the average cogency of his argumentation." My critic is a man better entitled to be heard than I am. Therefore I give his view, as it is a question of fairness to a person. I should not have written the note, if I had not felt deeply—and I feel still—that the book in question is a vicious example of what I venture to call "the unhistorical imagination," all the way through. (2) A note on p. 27 requires correction. The Fathers sometimes speak of a Divine Table, where they have in mind the sacramental provision and not at all a material structure; but I have noted two more quotations, one from Origen, and one additional one from

Dionysius of Alexandria, where "Divine Table" or "Holy Table" seems to be plainly used of the Altar in a Christian Church. (3) In Chapter X. a reference should have been given to a book which I have found valuable, though I cannot always follow it, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, by Rev. Charles Bigg, being the Bampton Lectures for 1886.

Apart from the fact that no student can ever write a history that all other students will agree with in detail, I dare not hope that I have accomplished my task without some inaccuracies, whether of ignorance or of carelessness, which would be obvious even to myself, if pointed out. It would be a singular favor to me if any reader who detects such would kindly give me the benefit of his fuller knowledge. And still more I should be glad to know it, if ever any one should find help or value in this volume which should make him think of the author as a friend.

LUCIUS WATERMAN.

Laconia, N. H., Sept. 1, 1898.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

CHAP. I.—THE CHARACTER AND BOUNDARIES OF THE POST-APOSTOLIC AGE—Its Beginning—Its Terminal Point.—The Chief Difficulties.—When Corruption Entered.—Its Special Purity. 1

CHAP. II.—SOURCES OF HISTORY FOR THE BEGINNINGS OF THE POST-APOSTOLIC AGE.—The Purpose of Eusebius.—Qualifications of Eusebius.—The Letter of Barnabas.—The Anti-Jewish Party.—Barnabas's Allegorism.—The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.—A Eucharistic Fragment.—Jewish Tone of *Didaché*.—St. Clement not the Consul.—Was St. Clement a Bishop?—Does 3 St. John Refer to this Quarrel?—Qualities of St. Clement's Letter.—St. Clement's Three Characteristics.—The Shepherd of Hermas.—The Prophets of the First Days.—Hermas, the Brother of Pius.—Ignatius of Antioch.—Date of Ignatius.—His Character.—Ignatian Phrases and Figures.—A Medical Man and Musical.—The Passion for Unity.—Mutual Duties of Bishop and Church.—Lost Writings of Papias 13

CHAP. III.—THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE—RIVAL THEORIES IN MODERN TIMES.—Opinion in Third Century.—Apostles Numerous in New Testament.—Protestant Feeling about Episcopacy.—Apostles Chosen as Eye-witnesses.—Grounds for the Non-Episcopalian View.—New Forms of Non-Episcopalian View.—Theory of Dr. Hatch.—Theory of M. Réville.—Presbyters not Bishops at all.—Dr. McGiffert's View.—Acts and Pastoral Epistles Forgeries 61

CHAP. IV.—THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE—THE WITNESSES CALLED.—Eusebian Lists of Early Bishops.—Apostles in the *Didaché*.—Prophets called Chief Priests.—St. Clement's Ambiguity.—A Bishop Offers Sacrifice.—High-priests, Priests, and Levites Now.—In the Mind of Jesus Christ.—Presbyters Called Successors of Apostles.—Apart from These, No Church 85

CHAP. V.—THE CHURCH AND THE EMPIRE—I. PERSECUTIONS AND APOLOGISTS, TO THE DEATH OF ST. POLYCARP.—Causes of Dislike for Christians.—Witchcraft

PAGE

and Immorality Charged.—The State Jealous of a Higher Law.—Causes of Danger to Christians.—First Account of Christian Worship.—The Decision of Trajan.—An Age of Apologists.—Quadratus Historical, not Metaphysical.—Story of Barlaam and Josaphat.—Aristides not in Bondage to the Letter.—The Character of Christians.—The Rescript of Hadrian.—Severity of the Antonines.—The Faith not Changed in Transmission.—Let Search be Made for Polycarp!—Points of Likeness to the Lord's Death.—The Death of St. Polycarp 105

CHAP. VI.—THE CHURCH AND THE EMPIRE—II. PERSECUTIONS AND APOLOGISTS, FROM THE DEATH OF ST. POLYCARP TO THE ACCESSION OF COMMODUS.—Justin Finds a Better Philosophy.—Christians not to be Condemned for a Name.—Justin's Argument Continued.—How Christians Were Regenerated.—The Food called a Eucharist.—The Regular Sunday Morning Service.—An Example of Roman Justice.—The First Christian Book in the Latin Tongue.—A Roman's View of Martyrdom.—Apologies Become Numerous.—The Persecution of Lyons and Vienne.—Vettius Becomes a Paraclete of the Christians.—Martyrdom is Witness-Bearing.—Christian Endurance a Puzzle to the Heathen.—Signs Following Them That Believe.—Persecution Followed by Reaction, 141

CHAP. VII.—THE CHURCH'S RIVALS—EBIONISM AND GNOSTICISM.—Ebionism, the Jews' Distortion of Christianity.—The Nazarenes.—The Pharisaic Ebionites.—A Heretic Does Great Service as a Translator.—The Original Essene Society.—Departures of Essenic Ebionism from Essenism.—Danger that Men Will Look for Grace Irresistible.—The Pseudo-Clementine Story.—Ebionite Warnings Against a False Apostle.—Effect of the Forgeries on Public Opinion.—Rationalism *vs.* Traditionalism.—The Creator of the World not the True God.—The Gnostic View of Æons.—Gnostic Contrast of Pneumatic and Psychic.—Nicolas the Deacon.—Marcion of Pontus.—Lesson of Gnosticism for Nineteenth Century 175

CHAP. VIII.—THREE INTERIOR STRIFES—THE PASCHAL QUESTION—MONTANISM—SABELLIANISM.—The Quartodeciman Controversy.—Our Easter Rule not Apostolic.—Polycarp and Anicetus Agree to Differ.—The Testimony of Claudius Apolinarius.—Another Fragment from Claudius.—Directions from Rome not Binding.—Victor's Attempt at Wholesale Excommunication.—Festal Epistles Sent from Alexandria.—Characteristics of the Phrygians.—Prophesyings Attractive to the Phrygian Temper.—Was the Christian Revelation Final?—The Prophesyings Ascribed to Evil Spirits.—Montanist Leaders Appeal for Recognition.—The Partial Successes of Mon-

PAGE

tanism.—The First Martyrs of North Africa.—The First Vision of Perpetua.—Perpetua's Vision of the Unsaved Soul.—Saturus's Vision of Paradise.—Montanists not yet Separated from the Church.—Martyrs Triumph over Pain and Fear.—A Wise Bishop May Be More than a Constant Martyr.—Meaning of Name Monarchianism.—Heretical View of a Modal Trinity.—Noetus Introduces Monarchianism at Rome.—Roman Authorities Led Astray by Praxeas 208

CHAP. IX.—Early Theologians of the West—Irenæus—Tertullian—Hippolytus—Irenæus, the Conservative and Peace-Maker.—The Book Against All Heresies.—Honorable Meaning of Tradition in Irenæus.—Must All Churches Agree With Rome?—Non-Roman Visitors Make Roman Tradition.—Belief of Irenæus in Infant Regeneration.—Modern Eucharistic Theories.—The Language of Irenæus not Modern.—My Body,—that is, the Figure of My Body.—Views Generally Held, but not Necessary.—Quotations from the Elders in Irenæus.—Evil Heredity of the Church of Carthage.—Tertullian's Character and Gifts.—Tertullian as an Apologist.—The New Note of Triumph.—On the Prescription of Heretics.—Tertullian's Statement of the Rule of Faith.—Tertullian not Definitely Separated from the Church.—Tertullian Witnessing to Christian Usages.—Tertullian on Treatment of Post-Baptismal-Sin.—Fasting in the Post-Apostolic Church.—Low Idea of Marriage in Early Centuries.—May a Lay Priesthood Offer Alone?—Hippolytus Probably a Bishop-Coadjutor.—The Quarrel about Doctrine in the Roman Church.—The Quarrel about Discipline in the Roman Church.—The Scandal concerning St. Callistus.—Did Christians Choose an Embezzler as Bishop?—The Roman Bishops Did not Go to Extremes 258

CHAP. X.—Early Theologians of the East—The School of Alexandria—Clement—Origen.—The Divine Apathy.—The Logos in Philo.—The Catechetical School.—Clement of Alexandria.—Clement Really Orthodox.—Clement's Writings.—Clement's Advance upon Philo.—Faults of Clement's Theology.—Origen's character.—Origen's Unsparing Toil.—Origen's Friendships.—Origen a Traditionalist.—Origen both Allegorical and Literal.—The Phrase, "Eternal Generation."—Origen's Doctrine of Man.—Origen's Personal History.—Narcissus of Jerusalem.—Origen's First Stay in Cæsarea.—Origen's Ordination.—Was Origen Condemned as a Heretic?—Origen's Burial-place 317

CHAP. XI.—The Church and the Empire from Commodus to Diocletian—Cyprian and His Times.—

PAGE

Roman Citizenship Given to all Freemen.—The Decian Persecution.—Chief Victims under Valerian.—Self-sacrifice and Self-will.—The Pope of Carthage.—Cyprian Avoids the Persecution.—*Sacrificati, Thurificati, Libellatici.*—Cyprian's Feeling about Martyrs and Confessors.—The Schism of Felicissimus.—Cyprian Suppresses Information.—Novation and Novatus.—Novatianist Idea of the Church.—The Church Must be One.—Cyprian's Idea of the Episcopate.—A Forger Enlarges Cyprian.—Can Bad Men Do God's Works?—Infant and Clinic Baptisms.—*Respondere Natalibus.*—Our Dead not Lost.—Stephen Becomes Bishop of Rome.—An Appeal from Gaul.—Beginning of the Re-Baptism Controversy.—Three Views of What is Baptism.—The Fifth Council of Carthage.—Stephen Excommunicates Himself.—Large Allowance of Wide Difference.—The Church Rejects Cyprian's View.—Cyprian's Belief in Heavenly Signs.—Cyprian's Arrest and Trial.—Cyprian's Death and Glorification.—Cyprian's Lesson for To-day 360

CHAP. XII.—The Forty Years' Rest, and the Tenth Wave.—Dionysius Opposes Chiliasm.—Misunderstandings as to the use of Words.—Stories of Gregory Thaumaturgus.—St. Firmilian of Cæsarea.—Heresy and Deposition of Paul.—The Word *Homo-ousios.*—Vitality of the Armenian Church.—The Divine Call to the Ascetic Life.—The Career of St. Anthony.—Arnobius and Lactantius.—The Diocletian Persecution.—The Vision of Constantine 422

CHAP. XIII.—Last Words of Some Workings of the Church's Mind in the Post-Apostolic Age.—The Change from Custom to Canon.—What was Included in the Faith?—The Faith Fixed, Theology Free.—The Doctrine of Confirmation.—Cyprian on the Laying on of Hands.—Doctrine of Eucharist as Sacrifice.—Justin and Irenæus on Sacrifice.—The Alexandrians on Sacrifice.—Early Views of the Sabbath Idea.—The Early Lord's Day no Sabbath.—Canon of Scripture not Settled Early.—Early Christian Liturgies.—Contents of an Ancient Liturgy.—Liturgies Point to Common Model.—The Creed not Said in Early Liturgies.—Lord's Prayer Called a Form of Consecration.—Are Forms in the *Didaché* Liturgical?—The Church is Christ's After All . 447

THE POST-APOSTOLIC AGE.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHARACTER AND BOUNDARIES OF THE POST-APOSTOLIC AGE.

"THE Post-Apostolic Age" is a good name for that period in the history of the Church of Christ which covers the second and third centuries of the Christian Era. The boundaries of the period shall be defined more closely in a moment. Let us begin with a word about the natural difference between an age that was Apostolic and an age that was Post-Apostolic. The Church in every age must have leadership. Men cannot live without leaders. Where do such leaders come from? They grow; they are evolved. But those who believe in the supernatural origin of Christianity and the Deity of the Christ, cannot regard our Lord Jesus as a leader that merely grew up naturally out of the conditions of His day, nor can they regard His original Apostles, nor yet St. Paul, as naturally evolved into the positions they came to occupy, merely by force of their own gifts and the operation of circumstances. Their gifts had a great deal to do with their great work. Their circumstances shaped their careers very

largely. But an overruling providence did far more. Historical evolution is indeed a great fact. Even the human nature of our Blessed Lord was prepared for Him largely by a process of evolution under providential law, working through long ages before He was born. No doubt of that. But the chief truth of His Being was that He came down from heaven, bringing a new force into the world. So when He chose His Apostles, He chose such men as had by natural growth certain qualities that He wanted for the first leaders of His future Church, but then also He gave them some very special endowments in addition, and more particularly He so sent them to their work that the Church could not help feeling that they were a gift from Him much rather than a growth from itself. The same may be said of St. Matthias, providentially selected to fill the place of Judas, and again of St. Paul. While any of those first leaders remained alive and active, the Church must have felt that it was at least partially under a leadership that was in a peculiar sense let down from heaven. From the time that the last of those Apostles died, the Church must have felt that its leadership was in a new way its own, evolved out of itself, grown up out of the earth. The Church believed profoundly that its leaders who were ordained as presbyters or bishops at any period had supernatural powers conferred upon them from heaven, but it must have felt a great difference between leaders chosen and trained for it by Jesus Christ and leaders chosen and trained by itself. The Church, going from the Apostolic Age to the

Post-Apostolic, probably felt its own freedom and its own responsibility somewhat as a boy going from home for the first time, to enter college, feels his. Nearly up to the death of the last of the Apostles, Christians must have felt, "All our great questions are decided for us." After that turning-point was passed, Christians would feel, "Now we decide all our questions ourselves." Naturally also some self-confident souls would have rejoiced greatly in this new liberty, and some anxious souls would have shrunk from it as long as possible. In some Churches the Post-Apostolic period would practically begin as soon as there was no longer any likelihood of such a thing as that one of the original Apostles should ever visit their city, and in others the new conditions might not be much felt until there arose to leadership young men who had no personal recollections of any of the Twelve nor of St. Paul.

Thus the general date for the beginning of the Post-Apostolic Age would be about A. D. 100, St. John the Evangelist being the last survivor of the Apostles named by our Lord, and dying at Ephesus in extreme old age, in the third year of the Emperor Trajan, who came to the throne in A. D. 98. But some churches—that of the great city of Rome, for example,—may well have begun to enter upon the Post-Apostolic lines of thought and practice as early as A. D. 70, just after the martyrdom of St. Paul, and others may have been so slow to face new emergencies as hardly to reach the Post-Apostolic character before A. D. 120.

What distinguished the Post-Apostolic Age from

that which went before it was the Church's new independence and free self-government. Our period is distinguished from that which came after it by another great change of external pressure, and that change has a very definite date indeed. The date most commonly assigned for the beginning of a third period in Church History is A. D. 325, the date of the Council of Nicæa. But while that next period is well called "the period of the Ecumenical Councils," of which this of Nicæa was first, it got its prevailing character from another cause altogether. In the second and third centuries the Christian religion was persecuted. In the fourth and fifth and sixth centuries the Christian religion was fashionable. The change was tremendous, of course, and it came suddenly, when a new emperor, Constantine, made up his mind that the Christian society was so large and strong and had such an influence over its members, that to make friends with it and patronize it was the best possible means of securing a loyal upholding of the Roman Empire in its decay. Constantine believed, no doubt, that the Christian religion was the true religion, but there is equally no doubt that he thought it was going to be a great piece of good policy for him to appear as its friend and protector. From the time that he did so the world began to pour into the Church, partly from policy, without any conversion, partly from love of going with the crowd, with not more than half-conversion, and lo! the Church's life and character were suddenly and profoundly changed. Few transitions from one age to another are really sudden and clear-

cut. One period melts into another, as dawn passes into day. We have recognized that in allowing the beginnings of the Post-Apostolic Age to be set down as belonging anywhere from A. D. 70 to A. D. 120. But the end of our period and the definite beginning of a very different one may be assigned to the year when Constantine published his Edict of Toleration, the *Edict of Milan*, A. D. 313. That edict did not in words promise anything more than simple toleration, with full legal protection for liberty and property, whether of individual Christians, or of the Church; but a report got out that the Emperor was to be a supporter of Christianity, and ere long the rumor became a certainty, and the Church passed at one bound from bloody persecution to fashion and favor.

It may help us to study intelligently our own period, the Post-Apostolic Age, if we make here a brief comparison of the three periods, the Apostolic, the Post-Apostolic, and that of the Ecumenical Councils. In the Apostolic Age the great work of the Church was to convert as many Jews as possible, while holding the door carefully open for the heathen, or as the technical phrase is, "the Gentiles," to come in. Great as was the glory and duty of the Christian Church as a universal missionary to all men everywhere, the first and most particular business of the Christian Church of the first century was to save from loss as many Jews as possible, the special people who had been brought into covenant with God already as members of the Church under the Mosaic dispensation. The question how far the

Jewish nation and Church could be carried over into the new covenant and the new life had to be settled in a very few years. Till near the end of the first century it must have been easier to make a Christian out of a religious-minded Jew than out of a heathen man. Before the Church had gone far into the second century, it must have become much harder to convert a Jew than a heathen. The felt opposition of Judaism and Christianity had come to be hardened into the most bitter and passionate of all prejudices. In the first age, then, the chief work of the Church had been to save as much as possible of the Jewish nation, ere it was too late. Correspondingly, the Church's great danger was that of allowing Judaism to narrow our Lord's generous plan of salvation into something too much after the Mosaic order. The Church's chief conflict was with Judaizers, eager to impose upon all Christians, even the converts coming in from heathenism, such Mosaic laws as those of Circumcision and the Sabbath.[1] When our period begins, that work had been done, and that difficulty on the whole wisely met.

In the Post-Apostolic Age, therefore, the Church settles down to its enormous task of converting the world. The question how much of the older Church of God could be carried over into the new, and that other question, how far the new Church was to be like the old,—how much, in fact, of the older Church's stock in trade was worth taking over into the new business, were settled beyond reopening. Anti-

[1] For discussion of the Sunday observance of the early Church, see p. 456.

Christian Judaism was henceforth the most hopeless of all fields of work. The Church's great business was the conversion of the heathen. Its danger and difficulty were of two kinds. First, there was persecution. We must read the story of it later. At present, it is enough to say that the Church was often in danger of losing such members as seemingly it could least afford to lose, and did lose a great many, and of course, it looked as if the Church's progress was sorely hindered. As a matter of fact, it may be doubted if the Church ever had a more prosperous period as regards real growth in holy power than this when it was suffering frequent and sometimes awful persecution. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church." The Church of this second period was profoundly affected by persecution, but probably it gained many more converts than it lost, and more holiness also, by the tremendous experience of martyrdom. Much more dangerous to the Church at this time was the attempt—there were really a host of them, as we shall see—to rival the new religion by the discovery of another, still more attractive to the mind of the day. Imagine forty or fifty forms of what is known as "Christian Science" sweeping over the world of our day and drawing much people after them, so as to be a serious hindrance to the endeavors of the Christian Kingdom to get a hearing. Then you will have some slight idea of what the various forms of *Gnosticism* were to the Christian Church of the second century. We shall have to notice some few attempts to make the Church different from what

Christ made it, by reforming it in a Puritan direction, making it narrower and more severe in its discipline than it had been; but these were comparatively small movements. Mostly the strife of this age was to show men that the Christian religion had a claim on them and an exclusive authority, because it was a revelation from God. Hence it was very much an age of published claims and proofs, in fact, of *Apologetics*, in that older meaning of the word which carries no thought of *having*, in our modern speech, *anything to apologize for*, but simply and solely *having an answer to give* to any man that is ready to make a reasonable enquiry concerning the truth. It was also an age of forming a theology, that is, of putting Christian truths into an orderly form, so as to show that they go together and make a harmonious fabric, not merely a confused heap, and so as to show also that while some of them surpassed human reason utterly, as for example, the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, and could never by human reason[1] have been established, yet none of the Christian truths contradicted human reason, or necessarily antagonized the methods then current among philosophical students. But of all this we shall have more in our later chapters. The chief point now is that the Church's great struggle in this age was to persuade men to accept Apostolic Christianity as the one true religion, emphasized by the death of Jesus Christ and sanctioned by His resur-

[1] Yet it should be observed that Plato, greatest of Greek philosophers, did reason out for himself the idea that the Unity of the Perfect Being could not be a solitary and loveless unity.

rection. The point of difference between this and the next age is that Arianism and later heresies professed themselves to be each the full flower of truth, blooming in new brightness on the Catholic stem, and interpreting in new forms what had always been the heart of the Christian creeds. They found Apostolic Christianity in possession of the field, and their only way to get a hearing was to claim to speak with the true voice of Apostolic Christianity. But in the Post-Apostolic Age, Christianity had not yet been granted a patent, as it were, on its device in the way of a universal religion. It was still possible for men to suppose that they could throw Christ's teaching, or what they liked of it, into whatsoever form best pleased them, and offer it to the world under the name of Christianity, or under any other name, for that matter, with as good a chance of acceptance as those could expect to have who were called Christians and referred themselves to Apostolic founders, and were beginning to be known as the Catholic Church.

All this is in marked contrast with the conditions of the third period of the Church's life, the Age of the Councils (A. D. 313–681). I have mentioned that period chiefly to emphasize a certain important distinction. Men say that the Primitive Church became corrupted very rapidly. Quite true. But they fail to distinguish the point where the main stream of corrupting influence poured in. That was just at the beginning of the third period, when Christianity ceased to be persecuted and suddenly became popular. Under Constantine's government it did not pay

any longer to be known as a heathen. It might possibly pay to be known as a Christian. In a short time the Church came to have five times as many members as it had numbered under persecuting Diocletian.[1] Then these multitudes of new-made Christians naturally wanted to adapt their Christianity as much as possible to their own tastes. The Church's work took a new form. It was to convert nominal Christians into real ones. The Church's danger and difficulty were quite other than they had been. In the Age of the Councils the chief danger was worldliness making Christ's religion something other than Christ gave. The chief difficulty was to resist the pressure for getting rid of mystery in religious belief, for relaxing discipline, for making light of sin, for requiring less of spiritual life. Then, also, it became a much more serious task for the Church to resist the reactions that were necessarily provoked by such evils, and would mend them, or end them, in the Puritan fashion, by limiting the Church's work of grace to such persons as were already highly sanctified, or could profess to be so.

To sum up all, the first period of the Church, the Apostolic Age, is a period of immaturity and preparation,—one might almost say, of infancy. The third period, that of the Councils, is one of much

[1] There is reason for estimating the Christian population of Rome about A. D. 250 at fifty thousand, which would be as low as five per cent. of the whole number of inhabitants. Near the end of the next century, the Christian population of Antioch was one-half of the whole, a proportion ten times as great. The accession of Constantine comes just about half way between these two points. That the Church's membership was multiplied by five within fifty years after that accession would seem to be a reasonably low estimate.

corruption, though also, thank God, one of noble and greatly effectual resistance to corruptions. The second period, the period described in this volume, is—not the best, surely, in the Church's story. One who really believes in the power of the indwelling Life of Jesus Christ as a leaven and in the guiding of the Holy Ghost must certainly regard the Church of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a far *better* Church than the Church of the second and third. Not the best, then, but—the purest of all that the Church has known. It will show us, in the serious judgment of the writer of these lines, the thought and purpose of our Saviour Jesus Christ, less modified by the natural thoughts and feelings of the men who are trying to assimilate His thoughts, than any following age. Many earnest souls to-day are not only filled full with the prejudices of Post-Reformation thought in its nineteenth century Protestant form, but accept them uncritically as if they were fixed standards of Divine Truth. Such will feel a shock in reading of some of the thoughts and practices of the Church of the very first century after the Apostles, the Church of the pupils of St. John. Will they not suffer an affectionate exhortation from their brother, the writer of these lines, that they condemn not hastily these very early witnesses of the Master's mind? In the sixteenth century the Church needed reforming sorely, and God's providence supplied the need. Possibly our forefathers who were engaged in that honorable undertaking, may sometimes have thrown out with the rubbish, inadvertently, jewels which the Church had been wont to

wear when the Apostolic teaching was still ringing in her ears, and when some of her sons were of those who had learned their religion from men that had been companions of Jesus Christ in the flesh. The theology which resulted from an honest attempt of martyrs and confessors to understand what they received almost directly from Jesus Christ, may seem as likely to be sound and true as a theology which resulted from the attempt to reform a deeply corrupted Christianity, and got its shape largely by way of reaction from the very corruption which it essayed to remove.

CHAPTER II.

SOURCES OF HISTORY FOR THE BEGINNINGS OF THE POST-APOSTOLIC AGE.

"HOW do you know?" It is a characteristic enquiry of childhood, but it is a natural demand of maturer intelligences, too. Students of history may well wonder sometimes where historical writers get their information, and why different books tell the story in so irreconcilably different ways. The first half of the Post-Apostolic Age is one of the periods in which scholars have found it hardest to agree on their facts. It may be particularly useful, therefore, to have some idea where they go to get them, and how they get such a wide difference in their results. The subject is large enough to fill several volumes of this size. In a single chapter, it will be understood, only a glimpse of it can be given. We shall here take account of the earliest Church History that has come down to us, and of the few works of Christian writers that seem to belong to what we may call "the transition period" of the Post-Apostolic Church, anywhere from 75 to 125 A. D.

I. *Eusebius.* For a short period, of only two hundred years, it would, of course, be particularly interesting and helpful to have a history of the time

written by a man who had lived within it himself,—a man of learning and of a laborious habit, and who had access to good libraries, writing just after the period closed. All this we have, most happily, in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine. The place of Eusebius in history is most interesting. He died A. D. 339, having been bishop of Cæsarea, the metropolis of Palestine, for about twenty-five years. He is so precise in cutting off certain persons and events as belonging to "our own times," that we are enabled to fix the year of his birth at 260 or very near that date. He was, then, a man of fifty years when our period comes to a close. Nearly one-fourth of this Post-Apostolic Age of ours was covered by his span of life, when he sat down to write the story of it. His history shows signs of having been written just after the turning-point when Constantine's Edict of Toleration, and still more his well-known favorable attitude toward Christianity had begun to give thoughtful observers a feeling that the Church was entering upon a new life.[1] In this view the book is, in Bishop Westcott's words (quoted in Bishop Lightfoot's Article, *Eusebius of Cæsarea*, Dictionary of Christian Biography, Vol. II. p. 323), "the last great literary monument of the period which it describes. It belongs not only in substance, but also in theological charac-

[1] There are ten books of the History. The tenth was written within the limits of the years 323 and 325, in which last year the work was published, if one can use such a phrase. When there were no printing-presses, publishing a book meant only announcing that it was done and allowing professional scribes to begin to make copies of it for sale.

ter, to the Ante-Nicene Age. It gathers up and expresses in a form anterior to the age of dogmatic definition the experience, the feelings, the hopes, of a body which had just accomplished its sovereign success, and was conscious of its inward strength." It will be interesting to note what such a man thought it worth while to write about in a Church History. Here is his own statement, the opening paragraph of his great work.[1]

"It is my purpose to write an account of the successions of the holy Apostles, as well as of the times which have elapsed from the days of our Saviour to our own; and to relate the many important events which are said to have occurred in the history of the Church; and to mention those who have governed and presided over the Church in the most prominent parishes,[2] and those who in each generation have proclaimed the divine word either orally or in writing. It is my purpose also to give the names and number and times of those who through love of innovation have run into the greatest errors, and proclaiming themselves discoverers of knowledge falsely called,[3] have like fierce wolves unmercifully devastated the flock of Christ. It is my intention, moreover, to recount

[1] The translation is that of Doctor A. C. McGiffert, of the Union Theological Seminary. His edition of Eusebius, contained in Vol. I. (Second Series), Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: Christian Literature Co., is so much the best that can be recommended to the student, that it becomes necessary to say so, in spite of its being an advertisement for the publishers of this volume.

[2] *Parish*, as here used, stands for bishopric, for what would now be called a diocese. *Diocese* in the first three Christian centuries meant a minor province of the Roman Empire, and later a group of provinces.

[3] Eusebius is here quoting 1 Tim. vi. 20. The reference is to the Gnostics.

the misfortunes which immediately came upon the whole Jewish nation in consequence of their plots against our Saviour, and to record the ways and the times in which the divine word has been attacked by the Gentiles, and to describe the character of those who at various periods have contended for it in the face of blood and of tortures, as well as the confessions[1] which have been made in our own days, and finally the gracious and kindly succor which our Saviour has afforded them all. Since I propose to write of all these things, I shall commence my work with the beginning of the dispensation of our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ."

To show (1) the continuity of the Church by showing in a few leading cities the continuity of its chief ministry as a succession of Apostles, to furnish (2) a series of noteworthy dates so as to show how events were connected together, to give (3) some account of the most distinguished rulers, preachers, and writers in the Church, to point out (4) the chief heresies that had antagonized the faith of Christ, to make clear (5) how Jewish rejection of Jesus of Nazareth had been followed by God's rejection of the Jewish people, and finally, to show (6) how, on the other hand, Christianity, even more awfully persecuted, had yet been upheld and delivered and proved to be an object of God's favor,—to tell all this, and to trace it all from the Incarnation as the only root from which such a history could grow, was the plan of Eusebius, and a truly philosophical plan. How far was he

[1] *Confession* was a technical term for the act of confessing Christ before persecutors, where the suffering fell short of death.

capable of carrying it out? Well, certainly he had one great qualification. He was a man of extraordinarily wide knowledge. He knew books, and he knew the world and men. His personal history lies mostly outside our period, but it may be mentioned here that he became one of the most intimate friends and trusted counselors of the first Christian Emperor. Constantine was a man of affairs. A book-worm could have gained no such hold on him. Eusebius represents the type of the Christian minister who is truly religious and truly devoted to the work of his calling, but is always a man of affairs too, a man of the world to his finger-tips. Such a man is not apt to be particularly credulous. He may, indeed, if he has not literary training, be a bad sifter of evidence, and so an untrustworthy historian. But Eusebius had literary training from his youth. To begin with, he was a really eminent scholar. Then his chief teacher, a presbyter of Cæsarea named Pamphilus, was a man of wealth and scholarship combined, and had gathered the richest collection of writings of interest to a Christian that that age could show. Another remarkable library had been formed at Jerusalem by the bishop, Alexander, in the first half of the third century (between the years 213 and 251), and Eusebius tells us that he himself gathered some of his materials there. Certainly he had a wealth of material. We must also credit him with a good deal of ability in using it. He is very careful in distinguishing what he feels sure of from what he is ready to give only with such an introduction as "Some say," or "The story goes," or "It

is reported." He must have the credit of being a really critical historian. The infidel Gibbon flings one of his most careless sneers at the honesty of Eusebius, but a more careful study of the charges against him on this ground has caused them to be dismissed as worthless by some of the most competent scholars of our day. It is a noteworthy fact that while Eusebius was deeply suspected of unorthodoxy amid the confusions of the controversy against Arianism, and while his name was for that cause detestable in the eyes of many of the Church's scholars, no historical student in the next two centuries essayed to rewrite the history of the Ante-Nicene Church, and do it better. There were *continuations* of Eusebius in plenty. Socrates, Sozomen, Philostorgius, Theodoret, — all these tried their hand at rival versions of the later history. Not one ventured to try whether Eusebius could not be improved upon. His book represents the very best scholarship and the very highest power of realizing its own history that the Church possessed at the close of the Post-Apostolic period.

II. *The Apostolic Fathers.* Eusebius, then, is of immense value for our earlier history. Curiously enough, he is of less value for the history of the times nearer to his own, for he knew but little Latin and but little about the Latin-speaking Churches, as of North Africa and Italy and Gaul, and when he had not books to go by, he was sometimes misinformed, and sometimes missed hearing of things that were very interesting. We must pass now to consider our other authorities for the early part of the Post-Apostolic Age, the books which were written by

men living in that very time, and which throw much light upon the development of the Church in their day. These writers are commonly grouped together as *The Apostolic Fathers.* Doubtless, the name was given originally with the idea that all the persons whose writings were thus collected belonged to what we might call the second generation of Christian teachers,—that is, were converts made by some of the original Apostles, or had at least received Christian instruction from such. That these writers had received such Apostolic teaching is in most cases probable, but not to be proven. The name is now commonly applied to all Christian writers outside the canon of the New Testament, whose compositions can be dated earlier than A. D. 125. The writings which may fairly be reckoned under this head are (1) The Letter of Barnabas, (2) The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, (3) The Letter of Clement of Rome, (4) The Shepherd of Hermas, (5) The Letters of Ignatius of Antioch, and (6) The Letter of Polycarp.

1. *The Letter of Barnabas* is not a great book, but it has raised a great deal of discussion. A succession of eminent scholars of the early Church,—Clement of Alexandria (*circa* A. D. 180–200), Origen, who succeeded Clement as teacher of the theological school at Alexandria, our historian Eusebius, the learned Jerome,—all these say that it is a letter of Barnabas, the Apostle, once the companion of St. Paul. There is no trace of any different opinion in the early Church. The present writer feels no doubt that it is really so. In that

view this letter would belong entirely to the history of the Apostolic Age, but it must be acknowledged that almost all modern scholars set the ancient testimony aside. It is a very poor letter, and therefore, they say, it must be entirely sub-Apostolic. Their confidence that when once a man was made an Apostle he could not say foolish things, is really touching, but one hardly knows on what it is founded. But this is not all. If (*a*) it had been written by a Levite, it is argued, it would not have made great blunders about the Temple ritual. If (*b*) it had been written by an Apostle, it would have been received by the Church as part of its inspired Scripture. If (*c*) it had been written by the "son of exhortation"—that, rather than "son of consolation," is Barnabas's surname given by fellow-Apostles,—it would have been eloquent. If (*d*) it had been written by one who had been matched as an Apostle with St. Paul, it would have been wise. But it should be observed (*a*) that a man might have grown old as a Levite, and yet never have done any official service in the Temple in his life. As to (*b*), the ancient Church was sure that this book was written by the Apostle Barnabas,[1] and yet did not receive it as a work marked by divine inspiration. That everything written by an Apostle must be the result of a special inspiration, is pure modern assumption. The ancient Church did not think so. Many find in 1 Cor. v. 9 and 2 Cor. vii. 8, indications of two letters of St.

[1] It could not have been written by some other Barnabas, for Barnabas was not then a personal name, but only a complimentary title given to this one eminent Christian.

Paul not preserved by the Church as canonical, and certainly St. John wrote a letter to some Church (see 3 John 9) which was neither preserved nor even respected. Then as to (*c*) and (*d*), experience shows that men may be most moving public speakers, yet very ineffective writers, and hardly to be described as thinkers at all. "Barnabas and Paul" are mated in the Acts, but they were not well matched, and so far from it that they could not permanently work together. If the Apostle Barnabas had a fine, impressive presence, a warm, generous heart, a great gift of speech, and a singularly small share of brains, he would be a most natural person, such as most of us have known, and equally consistent with the narrative of the Acts and with the facts of this curious letter which bears his name.

The letter itself does not tell us much about the early Church, but it shows something of the thoughts and feelings of the extreme anti-Jewish party.[1] That party hated everything Jewish. They were fiercely unwilling, as we shall see, to keep their Easter at the same time with the Jewish Passover. They despised the Temple and its services, which their great leader, St. Paul, always honored. They could see no good in the Jewish Scriptures even, unless they could turn them all into meanings that the Jews themselves

[1] The last time that Barnabas appears before us in the New Testament (Gal. ii. 13), he is classed with Judaizers,—*even Barnabas was carried away with their dissimulation* (R. V.). But the "*even*" shows that Barnabas had been on the liberal side at first, and if he was the man of feeling rather than of thought that we have supposed him to be, nothing would be more natural than that after St. Paul's rebuke had brought him out of a false position, he should go plunging to the opposite extreme.

had never dreamed of. Here again St. Paul was their leader. He certainly saw mystical meanings in Old Testament stories, as we may observe in Gal. iv. But here again they left St. Paul behind, both because they gave up the study of the literal meaning as unprofitable, and because they ran wild in their notions of the spiritual meaning. Two brief extracts will suffice to show Barnabas at his worst and again at his best.

He is at his worst in Chapter X., discoursing on the prohibition of certain kinds of food in the Old Testament:

"Moses spoke with a mystical reference. For this reason he named the swine as much as to say, Thou shalt not join thyself to men who resemble swine. For when they live in pleasure, they forget their Lord; but when they come to want they acknowledge the Lord. And the swine, when it has eaten, does not acknowledge its master; but when it is hungry, it cries out, and on receiving food is quiet again. *Neither shalt thou eat*, says he, *the eagle nor the hawk, nor the kite, nor the raven.* Thou shalt not join thyself, he means, to such men as know not how to procure food for themselves by labor and sweat, but seize on that of others in their iniquity, and although wearing an aspect of simplicity, are on the watch to plunder others. So these birds, while they sit idle, enquire how they may devour the flesh of others, proving themselves pests by their wickedness. *And thou shalt not eat the lamprey, or the polypus, or the cuttle-fish.* He means, Thou shalt not join thyself to, or be like, such men as are ungodly to the

end, and are condemned to death. In like manner as those fishes, alone accursed, float in the deep, not swimming like the rest, but make their abode in the mud which lies at the bottom."[1]

In Chapter XVI. we have our writer at his best. He is not fair to God's elder church, and he ignores a great truth, that God does in all ages bring His Presence to bear on men at some times and in some places more than at other times and in other places, but he has a noble and true thought in him, worthy of a "son of exhortation."

"Moreover, I will also tell you concerning the Temple how the wretched (Jews), wandering in error, trusted not in God Himself, but in the Temple as being the House of God. For almost after the manner of the Gentiles they worshipped Him in the Temple.[2] But learn how the Lord speaks when abolishing it: *Who hath meted the heaven with a span, or the earth with his palm? Have not I?* [Isa. xl. 12.] *Thus saith the Lord: Heaven is My throne, and the earth My footstool: what kind of house will ye build to Me? or what is the place of My rest?* [Isa. lxvi. 1.] Ye perceive that their hope is vain. Moreover,

[1] If this seems to any modern reader too absurd to have been produced by a man who had worked in company with St. Paul, it may be observed that Clement of Alexandria, writing a hundred years later, repeats this very line of interpretation, and yet Clement of Alexandria was probably the greatest Christian scholar and most distinguished teacher of his day.

[2] Barnabas's word rendered "worshipped" is literally "they hallowed Him off." Perhaps it means, "they localized His Presence in the Temple so much in their idea of things, that practically they left no place for Him in the world of men's common life. They shut Him up in the Temple almost as much as the heathen do their gods."

He says again, *Behold, they who have cast down this Temple, even they shall build it up again.*[1] It has so happened. For through their going to war it was destroyed by their enemies, and now they, as the servants of their enemies, shall rebuild it.[2] . . . . Let us enquire, then, if there is still a temple of God. There is—where He Himself declared that He would make it and finish it. For it is written, *It shall come to pass when the week is completed, the Temple of God shall be built in glory in the Name of the Lord.*[3] I find, therefore, that a temple does exist. Learn then how it shall be built in the Name of the Lord. Before we believed in God, the habitation of our heart was corrupt and weak, as being indeed like a temple made with hands. For it was full of idolatry, and was a habitation of demons, through our doing such things as were opposed to God. But it shall be built, observe ye, *in the Name of the Lord*, in order that the Temple of the Lord may be built in glory. How? Learn. Having received the forgiveness of sins, and placed our trust in the Name of the Lord, we have become new creatures formed again from the beginning. Wherefore in our habitation God

[1] This is a misquotation of Isa. xlix. 17, which was given in the Greek version called the Septuagint as *Thou shalt soon be built up by those by whom thou wast destroyed.*

[2] This should be rather, "the very servants of their enemies shall rebuild it," or possibly, "they and the servants," etc. In either reading the meaning is, as presently appears, that men converted to the faith and worship of the Christian Church are built into a spiritual temple, and are themselves builders of such a temple, though they be servants of a great heathen empire.

[3] It is hardly worth while to refer as editors do, to Daniel ix. 24, 27, and Haggai ii. 9. More probably Barnabas had read such a passage in some apocryphal book.

truly dwells in us. How? His word of faith; His calling of promise; the wisdom of the statutes; the commands of the doctrine; He Himself prophesying in us; He Himself dwelling in us, opening to us who were enslaved by death, the doors of the Temple, that is, the mouth;[1] and by giving us repentance He introduced us into the incorruptible Temple. He, then, who wishes to be saved looks not to man, but to Him who dwelleth in him and speaketh in him, amazed at never having either heard Him utter such words with His mouth, nor himself desired to hear them. This is the spiritual Temple built for the Lord."

It remains to note concerning the date of this little tract, that it refers to the destruction of Jerusalem, and must, therefore, have been written after A. D. 70. The language used seems to imply that it was not long after. Bishop Lightfoot, who thinks the Apostle Barnabas cannot have been the writer, still dates it somewhere between 70 and 79. We shall refer to it again in connection with the subjects of Baptism and the Sabbath.

2. *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.* This is a curious little book with a curious story. In 1873 a learned ecclesiastic of the Greek Church, Philotheos Bryennios, then Bishop of Serræ in Macedonia, but residing in Constantinople, was examining some old manuscripts preserved in the library of the Monastery of the Holy Sepulchre. Among them he found, to his surprise and joy, one that contained the entire

[1] Barnabas calls the mouth the door of that Temple which every Christian man's body is made to be, and then passes at once to the incorruptible body, the Church.

letter of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, of which the closing chapters had been missing for some centuries, and several other copies of ancient writings, one of them bearing the title, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.* Reading ancient manuscripts is hard work, even for a scholar accustomed to such tasks, and it was not till five years after that Bishop Bryennios examined the *Teaching*, or as it is sometimes called, by its Greek name, the *Didaché*, enough to realize that this also was a treasure, being a sort of Church Manual illustrating the Christian life of the first century. The *Teaching* was not published till 1883, and scholarship has not had time to say its last word about a good many questions connected with it. If pretty generally we follow the judgment of Doctor Salmon, of Trinity College, Dublin, author of the article on the *Teaching* in the Dictionary of Christian Biography, we shall be following a good guide.

The book does not profess to come from the original Apostles, but to give such teaching and direction as they would have approved, just as the title of the Apostles' Creed was not intended to imply that the first Apostles ever heard that form of words. It begins with six chapters intended as an instruction in practical Christian living for persons preparing for baptism,—*Catechumens*, persons in process of being catechised, was the Church's technical term for such,—and then it has chapters on the form of baptism, on fasting and prayer, on forms of devotion to be used at the Holy Communion, on the treatment due to Christian teachers, on the observance of the

Lord's Day, on the choice of good men for the work of the ministry, and on the Second Coming of our Lord. For an example of its contents we may take Chapters IX. and X., containing devotions to be used by the congregation at the Holy Communion. That service, by the way, was almost invariably spoken of by primitive Christians as "the Eucharist," —which means the Thanksgiving or Thank-offering, and the same word will be used henceforth in this book. It is a curious fact that the Eucharist is not spoken of as "the Lord's Supper" by any Christian writing of the first three centuries, though sometimes it is called "the Mystical Supper," [1] and there are but three examples of calling a Christian Altar a "table" in the same period. Nobody would have objected to such language, but it was not the kind of language which the Post-Apostolic Age did actually inherit from the Apostolic. Concerning the curious notion that the forms which we are about to give constitute a "liturgy,"—that is, are given for the minister to use as sufficient forms for the "blessing" of the bread and the cup of the Eucharist, see p. 481.

"Now as regards the Eucharist, give thanks after this manner: first for the cup: 'We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David, Thy servant, which Thou hast made known unto us

[1] "Mystical Supper," by Dionysius the Great, Bishop of Alexandria, A. D. 254, who also speaks of a communicant as "standing at the Holy Table," and "shrinking from approaching the Table"; "Mystical Divine Supper," by Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, A. D. 220, in his commentary on Prov. ix. 2, where also the Altar is called "the Mystical Divine Table."

through Jesus, Thy Servant. To Thee be the glory forever.' And for the broken bread: 'We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou hast made known unto us through Jesus, Thy Servant. To Thee be the glory forever. As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains, and gathered together became one, so let Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom, for Thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ forever.'

"But let no one eat or drink of your Eucharist, except those baptized into the Name of the Lord; for as regards this also the Lord has said: 'Give not that which is holy to the dogs.'

"Now after being filled, give thanks after this manner: 'We thank Thee, Holy Father, for Thy Holy Name, which Thou hast caused to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality, which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus, Thy Servant. To Thee be the glory forever. Thou, O Almighty Master, didst make all things for thy Name's sake; Thou gavest food and drink to men for enjoyment, that they might give thanks to Thee; but to us Thou didst freely give spiritual food and drink and eternal life through Thy Servant. Before all things we give thanks to Thee that Thou art mighty. To Thee be the glory forever. Remember, O Lord, Thy Church, to deliver her from all evil, and to perfect her in Thy love; and gather her together from the four winds, sanctified for Thy Kingdom which Thou didst prepare for her: for Thine is the power and the glory forever.

Let grace come, and let this world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David. If any one is holy, let him come. If any one is not holy, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen.'

"But permit the prophets to give thanks as much as they will."

The writer was plainly one who loved the Scripture utterances concerning God's "Vine," and who loved to think of "the True Vine" as truly a "Vine of David" also. He belonged to that school in the Church to which Jewish traditions were a pride and joy, and to be of Jewish descent a peculiar honor. "Hosanna to the God of David,"—"God" can hardly be an error for "Son" in the manuscript, as some editors would call it—comes readily from his lips, and "Jesus, Thy servant," is a natural phrase from a man of Jewish atmosphere, to whom Isaiah's prophecies about "the Lord's servant"[1] would be traditionally dear. Anti-Jewish Christians leaned away from such phrases, as too little honoring to the Divine Lord. Hence the mistake of making over this very phrase, "Thy Servant Jesus," into "Thy Child Jesus" in versions of Acts iii. 13, 26, and iv. 27, 30, a mistake which goes back sixteen centuries at least.

The Jewish tone of this book and the allusion to corn scattered over the hills make it seem likely that it was written in mountainous Palestine. Its date is assigned by most English scholars, as by Bishop

[1] Isa. xlii. 1; xliii. 10; xlix. 5, 6; lii. 13; liii. 11, and cf. a most valuable note on the phrase in the *Speaker's Commentary*, called in America the *Bible Commentary*, at the end of Isa. xli.

Lightfoot, to the last quarter of the first century. Doctor Salmon would date it about 120, and Professor Harnack, the leading German authority, between 130 and 165, but these scholars agree in thinking that we have here a first century book, worked over with additions by a later hand. All agree that the *Teaching* gives a picture of Church life more characteristic of the first Christian century than of the second, Harnack even declaring that its general view comes nearer to the picture presented by the Epistles to the Corinthians than even to that of the Epistle to the Ephesians in our New Testaments. If it was first written in the second century, it must have been in some rustic community that lagged behind the age. It may be added that the opening chapters of the *Teaching* and the closing chapters of *Barnabas* seem to be drawn from a common source, probably a popular Jewish manual of pre-Christian date.

3. *The Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians.* We come now to a noble monument of early Christian thought and feeling, described by Bishop Lightfoot as the most important writing, outside of the volume of Holy Scripture, produced in the first century. It is a letter from "the Church of God which sojourneth at Rome to the Church of God which sojourneth at Corinth." So it describes itself in its opening words, and no reference is anywhere made to any individual authorship; but abundant testimony ascribes it to Clement, a chief minister of the Church at Rome, and the weight of scholarship is extraordinarily agreed as to its date. A. D. 96 cannot be more than a few months out of the way.

We must introduce, as briefly as we may, the writer, the circumstances of his writing, and the writing itself.

(*a*) The writer bears the name of Clement, in Latin, *Clemens*, and he wrote when the Emperor Domitian (*Titus Flavius Domitianus*) had just been waging a bitter persecution against the Christians of Rome. History tells us that in the last year of Domitian's life his own cousin, *Titus Flavius Clemens*, fresh from the honors of a consulship, and his cousin's wife, *Flavia Domitilla*, were convicted on a charge of atheism, having embraced certain Jewish superstitions, and were condemned, the consul Clement to death, and Domitilla to banishment. The suspicion that these were really Christian converts, found in the very highest circle of wealth and social station, has been greatly confirmed within the last fifty years by the discovery of an ancient Christian burial-place granted to Christian uses by Flavia Domitilla herself. It has been a fascinating suggestion to some that the consul Clement of the imperial house was the distinguished Christian who wrote this letter in the name of the Christians of the Roman city. There are fatal objections to such a theory. The Church was never so unworldly as to keep no record of the fact that among its writers was one of the imperial family, nor so unheavenly as to forget his martyrdom. More probably the consul was not a martyr at all, but simply a man who through his wife had been drawn near enough to the new religion to give a jealous tyrant an excuse for removing a rival that stood too near the throne. Clement, the writer, has not the literary qualities

that would be likely to belong to a noble Roman, educated under the first masters of the day. On the other hand, he has a familiar knowledge of the Old Testament, which seems to point to a Jewish origin. And yet it seems particularly likely that the Jew boy derived his name from the noble Roman house. Lightfoot's conjecture has great probability, that he was a freedman, or at most a freedman's son, either he or his father having been once a slave in the household of the Clements. That would account for his noble name and make a very natural story. It was by way of Jews that Christianity found its way to Gentiles in almost every city, we may be sure. It found its readiest way of advance in the hearts of the oppressed and the poor. Rich men of those days held slaves in enormous number and of every nationality. Finally, it was a common thing to find slaves filling positions that required a large share of education and general culture, and as to the social feeling of the Church we may note that the Roman writer, Hermas, of whom we shall be hearing presently, describes himself as having been a slave, and yet he seems to have been an elder brother of Pius, who about A. D. 140 succeeded to the bishopric of Rome. That Clement, the writer, was, in the speech of to-day, "a gentleman," is beyond a doubt. That his family had within a few years known the hard discipline of slavery, is highly probable.

So much for what he was in himself. What was he to the Church in Rome? All Christian tradition says, its bishop. Modern scholars are divided about that, some being very unwilling to acknowledge that

there were any bishops in the modern sense in any Christian cities of Europe at so early a day. Irenæus, who visited Rome about A. D. 175, gives a list of the bishops of that see down to his time. "Linus, Anencletus, Clemens, Evarestus," it begins, and that same list is given by all Eastern writers who deal with the subject. But there is another tradition, which grew up at Rome, and prevailed there too, which makes the first names to be "Linus, Clemens, Cletus, Anacletus, Evarestus." "Plainly," say the objectors, "there were no bishops at the beginning, and so different people made up their imaginary successions differently." It seems hard to believe that in 175 the Roman Christians supposed that government by a single ecclesiastic, "Monarchical Episcopacy," had existed among them for over a century, when really it had been introduced among them less than fifty years before, and Lightfoot has shown in a masterly way how the later list is to be accounted for with all its blundering. It is noteworthy, also, that even after the order of the later list had become the thoroughly accepted tradition at Rome, the commemoration of the faithful dead in the Liturgy continued still, as it continues to this day, to make mention of the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, and the rest, and then of "Linus, Cletus, Clemens," showing that the tradition known to Irenæus had been embodied in the Roman Church's Prayer Book too long when the blundering correction was made,—probably about A. D. 234,—for the Church to be willing to change the familiar form of prayer.

(*b*) As for the circumstances of Clement's writing, the occasion of his letter was a church quarrel. Clement speaks of it as a "detestable and unholy sedition," and as one "which a few headstrong and unruly persons have kindled," but with gentle tact he does not go into particulars. That would have been very informing for us, but at Corinth it would only have given the opposition a handle for saying that he had here or there misstated the case. Clement is as disappointing as he was wise in his vagueness. We can just make out that the trouble was an uprising of a very few leading laymen against the authority of the clergy, "the presbyters,"[1] and then, incidentally, that he lays the whole trouble to jealousy, and that in his examples he brings in three illustrations of the union of faith and hospitality, Abraham, Lot, and Raha, as if somehow a question of entertaining brethren from abroad had come into this difficulty.

May it not be that we have here the very case

[1] Cf. chapter xlvii. "Take up the Epistle of the blessed Paul the Apostle. What wrote he first unto you in the beginning of the Gospel? Of a truth he charged you in the Spirit concerning himself and Cephas and Apollos, because that even then ye had made parties. Yet that making of parties brought less sin upon you, for ye were partisans of Apostles that were highly reputed, and of a man approved in their sight. But now mark ye who they are that have perverted you and diminished the glory of your renowned love for the brotherhood. It is shameful, dearly beloved, yes, utterly shameful, and unworthy of your conduct in Christ, that it should be reported that the very ancient Church of the Corinthians, for the sake of one or two persons, maketh sedition against its presbyters." Chapter lvii. "Ye, therefore, that laid the foundation of the sedition, submit yourselves unto the presbyters, and receive chastisement and repentance, bending the knees of your heart. . . . It is better for you to be found little in the flock of Christ, and to have your name on God's roll, than to be had in exceeding honor, and yet be cast out from the hope of Him."

about which St. John wrote his third Epistle? In St. Paul's time there lived at Corinth a rich Christian bearing the Roman name of Caius,—we read it in the Greek form *Gaius*, in our version,—who entertained traveling brethren so generously that St. Paul writes of him to the Romans (Rom. xvi. 23), "Gaius, mine host, *and of the whole Church*, saluteth you." St. John writes (nearly forty years after, to be sure) to a prominent Christian named Caius, evidently living in one of the centres of Church work, and apparently a very old man, like St. John himself, for St. John writes in a brotherly, rather than fatherly, tone, and seems tenderly solicitous about his friend's health, who is noted for his hospitality "to the brethren, and that, strangers," as we ought to read in 3 St. John 5, or "toward them that are brethren, and strangers withal." Is this the same Caius of Corinth? It is certainly possible. Then we have one Diotrephes, "who loveth to have the preëminence," who refuses hospitality to Christian missionaries, declines to recognize the authority of St. John writing somewhat to the church, and even "casts out of the Church" any persons who do receive St. John's representatives. How could Diotrephes cast brethren out of the Church? Some have thought him a bad specimen of diocesan bishop of the new order, tyrannical and self-willed. More probably he was a purse-proud layman, who gave his great house for a Christian meeting-place, and then refused admission there to any who ventured to differ seriously from him in Church policy. Such an one might be "had in exceeding honor," in St.

Clement's words, while really he ought to have been "little in the flock of Christ," and was in serious danger of being "cast out from the hope of Him."

But of course, any attempt to make out Diotrephes a Corinthian is pure conjecture. One thing, however, is quite certain. St. John was living over across the Ægean Sea at Ephesus, when this trouble was going on at Corinth, whether his letter to Caius refers to it, or no. Why did he not settle it at once, without waiting for the Church of the Romans to give any views on the subject? Plainly, because he couldn't. Whatever the trouble at Corinth may have been, it manifestly included an attempt of leading laymen to get a larger share of local self-government than was generally approved in the Church, and incidentally a refusal to submit to any direction coming from the one survivor of the original Apostles. It would seem pretty plain that even in those early days there were two parties in the Church, one party magnifying the authority of the clergy (and particularly of the Apostles or Bishops, as we shall see presently in the letters of Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch), and devoted to the idea of one great world-wide organization, "the Catholic Church," to which each particular group of Christians should carefully subordinate itself, the other party, perhaps far-sighted enough to see a danger to Christian liberty in such an organization, perhaps only disinclined to personal subordination, but either way eager to minimize clerical authority and to exalt local independence. It was the party of clerical authority and high organization that pre-

vailed. It will be shown in a later chapter (IV.) that they claimed divine authority for their ideas. The opposition has left no written records. We can only guess whether they would have attempted to show that this was a mistake. As one whose sympathies are strongly with Clement and Ignatius, the present writer allows himself to say again that St. John was certainly living at this time. We cannot say whether he would have sanctioned *all* the arguments of Clement, or all the impassioned exhortations of Ignatius. But if he was not on their side in the main, the absence of any particular reference to him in their writings is unaccountable. As an opponent, he would have been thrown in their faces constantly, and they would have had to show how they could excuse themselves for departing from his policy.

(*c*) We come now to the qualities of the writing itself. It has been suggested already that it was wise and tactful. Written to urge upon the Church of Corinth the authority of the clerical body, and that in case of any difference of judgment between clergy and laity as to the government of the Church, the laity should of course submit, it does not put forward the writer's personality, or any clerical authority whatever, but addresses the Christian body at Corinth with the voice of the Church of the Romans, the whole Christian Church of the world's chief city pronouncing thus unitedly against the novelty of government by the people in the Church.[1]

[1] The writer of this volume takes the liberty of saying here that he himself rejoices greatly in the way in which the responsi-

Of course such a voice was the only one that the Corinthian malecontents would listen to. There was no use in writing to them, "I, the Roman Bishop, think thus and so." "The whole Church of the Romans assures you that it holds submission to the presbyters to be a duty," was the sort of statement that would have weight. That Clement put that kind of thing strongly, the quotations already made will show. It is right to note, because such language sounds so very strongly in modern ears, that he was not putting forward a new scheme, but repeating the phraseology of the New Testament. One must not make too much of the fact that the title "Bishop" means "overseer." It did not always mean very much in those days. But St. Paul speaks of the clergy as "those who are over you" in his very first letter (1 Thess. v. 12), and as "ruling" in one of his very last (1 Tim. v. 17. Cf. iii. 5, where "ruling well" in one's family can alone prepare for "taking care" of the Church). And another word for "ruling" is used in Heb. xiii. 7, 17, 24, and the writer of that letter exhorts his readers to "obey them that have the rule," and to be submissive to their wish.

Some further quotations will be given in Chapter IV. We may add here a notice of three characteristics of Clement as a writer, specially remarked by Bishop

bility of government in the Church of Christ has actually broadened down from Apostles or bishops to synods including presbyters, and again to such assemblies as include a representation of the faithful laity. He regards it as a most healthy and providential growth. Only he is quite sure that the Church did not begin so, and could not healthily have begun so.

Lightfoot. They are comprehensiveness, a deep sense of order, and a strong man's careful moderation. Comprehensiveness is shown not only in quotations, sometimes evidently made from memory, and copious quotations too, from all parts of the Old Testament in the Septuagint Greek version, and from St. Paul's Epistles, the Epistle to the Hebrews, St. James, and 1 St. Peter, but much more in the way in which Clement shows himself to have grasped the different modes of thought of the New Testament writers and harmonized them all in his own theology. He held St. Paul's doctrine of faith and St. James's doctrine of works in happy balance. It may be added, that while he quotes from the first three Gospels, it is not clear that he knew any writing of St. John. Probably such had not had time to reach him. The sense of order was, of course, particularly drawn out by the nature of the argument on which Clement was engaged. Still it appears plainly that his was a mind naturally open to deep impressions of the order and beauty of natural law. He had not actual science enough to save him from believing in the curious fable of the phœnix, living five hundred years, then entering the fire to be burned up, and rising from its ashes to a new lease of life, yet he had the heart of the modern scientific student in him. He loved the study of the reign of law. But nobler still was his third quality, his love of *obedience* to law, what Bishop Lightfoot calls his "moderation," his deep sense of the value of self-restraint. He not only preaches moderation, but one feels his practice of it in these lines. "Intense moderation" is one of

his phrases, and a fine one for a man called to unite opposing parties and lead them to a common victory.

It remains only to notice that this Roman Bishop's letter was written in Greek, not in Latin. "The Church of Rome, and most, if not all the Churches of the West," says Dean Milman (*Latin Christianity*, Book I., Chapter i.), "were, if we may so speak, Greek religious colonies. Their language was Greek, their organization Greek, their writers Greek, their Scriptures Greek; and many vestiges and traditions show that their ritual, their Liturgy, was Greek." Bishop Westcott (*Canon of the New Testament*, pp. 215, etc.) holds that the Rome of those days was so much a Greek city that the poorer part of the population were largely of Greek descent and mostly Greek in speech. Not before the middle of the third century did Rome come to be the centre of a characteristically Latin Christianity.

4. *The Shepherd of Hermas.* Does anybody now read Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress?* One who had it among the joys of his boyhood must feel a gentle pity for the children of the twentieth century, if they are not to have the same. Surely, the elders will remember it. It was a book of books among Protestant readers for two centuries from the time when it was written by a tinker turned preacher, while he was in jail for preachings which were against the law. Well, very much such a book was this volume called *The Shepherd*, written by a man named Hermas, an ex-slave, and not a presbyter, but apparently a gifted lay-exhorter in the Church at Rome. The story itself is not a bit like Bunyan's.

The likeness is simply in this, that both books teach large portions of Christian truth in the form of allegory, and with a long, continuous narrative on which the allegorical details are strung, and that both met a want and achieved an immense popularity in spite of having some things that were objectionable in their teaching in the eyes of careful theologians. Another point of resemblance is that both writers were of the Puritan temper, filled with bitterness because of the Church's corruption and worldliness, and trusting much to a severe external discipline to save her.

The work of Hermas is divided into three books, of *Visions*, *Commandments*, and *Parables*, the last two being commonly quoted under the titles of *Mandates* and *Similitudes*. In the *Visions* he sees a woman to whom he had once been a slave, complaining against him in heaven because of evil thoughts which he had had. Later he sees an aged woman of majestic appearance, who proves to be the Church, her snowy hair indicating that she has existed from all eternity in the mind of God. He learns many things from her, but at first he cannot remember them after the visions are over. After much fasting and prayer the visions become more clear. Then in the last of them a shepherd appears to him,—"the Shepherd to whose care thou wast committed," Hermas is told. It is apparently a vision of our Lord Jesus Christ that is meant to be conveyed, but the only description that the Shepherd will give of Himself is that He is sent to be an Angel of repentance while there is yet time. It is this *Shepherd* who gives title to the whole work,

and it is He who makes known to Hermas the twelve *Commandments* and ten *Parables* which make up the two remaining books.

Here arises a question of some difficulty. Was all this strange story a piece of self-delusion, a piece of knavish imposture, or simply a religious novel, like that *Pilgrim's Progress* to which we have compared it? This last is perhaps the most common view, but it seems the least historical. For two hundred years the *Shepherd* was read in Christian Churches in parts of the East along with the New Testament. It is found copied along with the Divine Scriptures in our oldest manuscript of the New Testament, the famous *Codex Sinaiticus*. Clement of Alexandria, a learned and strong man, writing his *Stromata*, or *Miscellanies*, about A. D. 195, quotes "the Power that spake to Hermas by revelation" as speaking "divinely." The still greater Alexandrine scholar, Origen, thought it was inspired, though he knew that some opposed such a view. In the West, Irenæus quotes it as a "Scripture." We may well follow the brilliant Irish scholar, Doctor Salmon, and the German, Zahn, in the idea that Hermas really had strange dreams, especially after much fasting and praying, and that he wrote them down very honestly and believed in them profoundly. Also, we need not think him a mere fool. The Church had enjoyed an outburst of supernatural powers, powers sorely needed for her new work. Think of it! She started on her way with no New Testament books yet written, no commentaries on any of the Old Testament books, no prayer-books, no hymn-

books, and more than all these, no such inherited habits of thought as we Christians of to-day are born into. Then God raised up "prophets" in the Christian order, and they prayed and preached and taught and sang, or at any rate produced "spiritual songs" for the Church to sing as soon as she found her voice, and all this they did by inspirations more special than we can easily appreciate. Many a stream of religious thought or feeling that flows down to our day looking so natural that we simply cannot imagine Christian people *not* thinking thus and thus, or feeling so and so, is really an outcome of that wonderful work of the Spirit of God, speaking to the rock of Jewish hearts or heathen hearts that now were quarried out of their darkness and built up into a Temple of God through Jesus Christ. When did those strange fountains begin to fail? Just as soon as the Church's natural powers had grown up enough to take what they had given and go on without them, doubtless. How far that process had gone in the days of Hermas, we cannot tell. He seems to have thought sincerely that he was a man of supernatural gifts. It is well-nigh certain that he had known such men, and many of them. It would be rash to say that because his writings are not of *eternal* value, therefore they could not have been a supernatural gift to the Church in the day of them. God does give the Church much help in every age through men whom God does not keep perfectly safe from error. Hermas seems to be just on the borderline between the inspired "prophets" of the New Testament, who did not always show good judg-

ment, to be sure, or use good behavior, according to Saint Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, and the fanatic and conceited Christians of later days, who indulge in many undisciplined fancies and count them all to be deliverances of the Holy Ghost.

We have said that the Church took Hermas seriously. Certainly he took himself seriously. It comes out in the way in which he mixes in his visions his own troubles and the Church's needs. An impostor would have written only what he wanted to impress on the Church's mind, with perhaps some compliments for himself. Hermas, like all dreamers, dreams about his own affairs, his scolding wife, and his unruly and ungrateful children, and his wasted property, as well as about the conditions of the Church, which he made heartily his own concern too. There was more of himself in his dreams than he thought there was, but doubtless God gave them to him in a very real sense, and made them useful to the Church, also. If, then, we take him for an honest man, telling truly of dreams which he had really dreamed, what is his date and the setting of his life? He gives us one clear indication. He was told in a vision to make two copies of his book, and give one to Grapte, presumably a deaconess, and one to *Clement*, who would send it to *the Churches abroad.* This Clement can hardly be other than the one whose letter to a foreign Church had already won such honor, and who as bishop (though Hermas never speaks of any one being bishop,) of the Roman Church would naturally pass judgment on the claims of persons professing to be

prophets, and also send out anything that was thought worthy to be sent abroad, as bearing the stamp of the Roman Christians' approval. We conclude, then, that Hermas wrote before the death of Clement, or but little after, and that Clement, or his successor, Evarestus, really did send out this book with the commendation of the Church at Rome. How natural that while his dreams were regarded by all as God-given, his book seems to have had more vogue in the East, where no one knew him, than in Rome, where people knew him well.

It should be said, however, that there is an old bit of manuscript, known from the scholar who found it in an Italian monastery library as the *Muratorian Fragment*, which distinctly says that the *Shepherd* "was written very lately, in our own times, in the city of Rome, by Hermas, when his brother, the bishop Pius, was occupying the chair of the Church of the city of Rome." This manuscript fragment is from a copy made by an extraordinarily blundering scribe, and it seems to represent a very bad translation into Latin from a Greek original, which may have been written—Doctor Salmon gives reason for thinking so (Article *Hermas*, Dictionary of Christian Biography)—some sixty years after the death of Pius, which must be placed about A. D. 153. If "sixty years since" does not seem to us "very lately," it should be noted that Eusebius speaks of events that happened more than sixty years before he was writing as "in our own times," and that Irenæus tells of the Revelation of St. John as being seen "almost in our own times, in the reign of Domitian," meaning be-

tween eighty and ninety years before he wrote. At that distance of time the writer of the Greek statement may have made a mistake, or it may well be that he really wrote "by Hermas *whose* brother Pius," not at all "by Hermas *when his* brother Pius," "was occupying the chair." Perhaps the two men were brothers, but the book of one forty years earlier than the bishopric of the other. Perhaps the writer of the statement simply blundered. One thing is certain. The credit of Hermas ran down remarkably in the Western Church soon after this writing of some influential scholar was put forth. The Church of the decade A. D. 210–220 seems to have become persuaded that a book which had been honored as containing real revelations given before A. D. 100, was really a work of fiction written some fifty years later. Which opinion are we to follow? Surely the book never could have obtained its early credit, and been quoted by Irenæus as "Scripture," if it was really a work of fiction, written within one generation before the visit of Irenæus to Rome. And certainly if the book did first appear after A. D. 140, no Church was going to believe that a man had been bidden in a heavenly vision to go to Clement, forty years after Clement was dead. We may place Hermas about A. D. 100, with Zahn, and Salmon, and our own Doctor Schaff, though a greater number of scholars are still on the side of the later date.

5. *The Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch.* These are seven letters written by Ignatius, Bishop of the great city of Antioch in Syria, while he was on his way to Rome to suffer a martyr's death, having been con-

demned to be thrown to the wild beasts in the Flavian Amphitheatre, known to us as the Colosseum. His guards had conveyed him to Smyrna by a road that led through the cities of Laodicea, Philadelphia and Sardis, and at Philadelphia at any rate he was allowed to address the Christians in a religious assembly, and to receive kindness from them. At Smyrna there was, apparently, some considerable stay. Here the Christians and their bishop, Polycarp, a great name also, showed abounding love and respect for Christ's martyr on his way to glory. Here also he received delegates from three cities lying on another road, the great Church of Ephesus sending its bishop, Onesimus, a deacon, and three other persons, Magnesia its bishop, Damas, youthful, but most admirable, with two presbyters and a deacon, and the more distant Tralles its bishop, Polybius, alone. From Smyrna, therefore, Ignatius dictated letters of thanks and solemn exhortation to each of these Churches, as well as a letter to the Church in Rome, chiefly concerned with an impassioned entreaty not to attempt anything towards securing his escape from death, and so to endanger his crown. Passing on then to Troas, his last stopping-place on Asiatic soil, he dictated to the Ephesian deacon, Burrhus, who had been commissioned to go with him and be a helper to him in the name of the two Churches of Ephesus and Smyrna, three more letters, one to the Church in Philadelphia, one to that of Smyrna, and one to the saintly Polycarp. By a letter of Polycarp's we know that Ignatius was taken to Philippi, was lovingly received there by the

Church, which wrote to Polycarp to beg for copies of any letters written by the martyr, and was joined by a group of Christians condemned, like himself, to die.

The story of the remaining journey and of the matyrdom itself comes to us in forms quite too late and legendary to be of any value; but it was a popular story, so popular that a somewhat unorthodox writer in the latter part of the fourth century, wishing to impress certain views of his own upon the Church of his day, took up the letters of Ignatius and rewrote them with large additions, adding six letters made entirely out of his own head besides, and published the whole collection as the work of the martyr. The forgery never made much way in the East, but in the West it was very popular before the Reformation, and the genuine form of the letters was lost to view. Hence came a long and bitter controversy among Post-Reformation scholars, especially after the rediscovery of the letters in the shorter edition. Which was the genuine form of the Ignatian writings? Was any reliance to be placed on any form of what had been so manifestly a plaything of pious forgery? The discovery and publication in 1845 of a Syriac copy of the letters, containing only three, and those in much briefer form, seemed for a while to point to the view that here at last we had the genuine Ignatius, but Bishop Lightfoot's great edition, published in 1885, is now generally accepted as putting an end to controversy, and establishing what he calls "the middle form," the "Short Greek" edition of the letters, as a genuine

product of the first quarter of the second century. Twenty years ago it was quite the fashion of eminent scholars to say that it was entirely uncertain what Ignatius really wrote. To-day quotations may be made securely from the Lightfoot text.

The story of the martyrdom, we have said, is worthless. All that we know of the man we must draw from the letters themselves and from that of Polycarp of Smyrna, save for the scanty notices in Eusebius, who tells us that Ignatius was the second Bishop of Antioch, and in his "*Chronicle*" notes the martyrdom in a sort of appendix to his treatment of the four-year period A. D. 103–106. Possibly Eusebius himself did not regard that date as more than somewhere about right. Lightfoot would place the story anywhere between one hundred and one hundred and eighteen. Professor Harnack, whose great influence had long held down the balance of scholarship on the side of a date twenty years later than Lightfoot's latest, has lately pronounced in favor of one "not later than A. D. 125." Such a combination of scholars will go far to fix scholarly opinion.

But the man is what one may call a vivid character. In his letters he cannot be hid. In Clement of Rome we have a strong man using all his power to keep himself patient and gentle, well balanced and therefore moderate. In Ignatius of Antioch we have a strong man rushing into action, giving himself out on every side, greatly admiring self-restraint in others, as when he writes of the Bishop of Tralles that "his gentleness is power," but not very much practising it. Clement is cool and calm. Ignatius

is dashing and fiery. The very name suggested to some in later days the Latin word *ignis*, "a fire." The derivation is absurd enough, but the suggestion is delightfully appropriate. In his personal character he was a man of passionate devotion, a man to whom Jesus Christ is intensely real. "Nothing visible is good," he writes to the Roman Christians, speaking of his feeling that his own Christian character will not be safe till he himself is no more seen. "Nothing visible is good. For our God, Jesus Christ, being in the Father is more plainly visible." The invisible Saviour is to him more manifest than any of "the things which do appear." There appears in him also a passionate self-depreciation. He is "the least" of the Christians at Antioch. He is "one born out of due time," like Saint Paul. He goes to his martyrdom with trembling joy, assured that if no powerful friends intercede for him at Rome, if God allows him to suffer for the testimony of Jesus, it will be a sign that in spite of all that is past, he is a man accepted. Making all allowance for Oriental fervor and the tendency to imitate St. Paul, we may feel with Lightfoot that there really had been, as with St. Paul, "something violent, dangerous, and unusual in his spiritual nativity." "His was one of those broken natures, out of which, as Zahn has truly said, God's heroes are made. If not a persecutor of Christ, if not a foe to Christ, as seems probable, he had at least been for a considerable portion of his life an alien from Christ. Like St. Paul, like Augustine, like Francis Xavier, like Luther, like John Bunyan, he could not forget that

his had been a dislocated life; and the memory of the catastrophe which had shattered his former self, filled him with awe and thanksgiving, and fanned the fervor of his devotion to a white heat."

A vivid character we have called him, and he writes vividly. He is one of the most quotable of men. He has phrases that are like the sudden lighting of a room. Such, I think, are his description of the Church in Rome, the world's great secular capital, as "having the presidency of love," and of the bishop of Tralles, as one "whose demeanor is a great lesson, and his gentleness is power." Such are these that follow: "Near the sword, near to God"; "Christianity is a thing of might, whensoever it is hated by the world"; "He that truly possesseth the word of Jesus is able also to hearken unto His silence"; "Mark the seasons. Look for Him that is above every season"; "Bear all men, as the Lord beareth thee." His letters abound in metaphors, and not merely of the common stock either. His eager mind seems to have turned everything he saw to good account, to illustrate the Christian life and warfare. He writes to exhort Polycarp to firmness, and his word is "Stand like an anvil when it is smitten." False teachers are described as "sowing the seed" of their pernicious doctrine, which again is likened to "noxious herbs." True Christians are "branches of the Cross,[1] and their fruit imperish-

[1] Early Christians thought of the Cross as a tree (cf. 1 St. Peter ii. 24), because the Greek tongue used one word for "wood," "a tree," or "a timber." They loved to find the Cross in the "tree planted by the waterside" of Ps. i. and in the tree of Exodus xv. 25, which made the waters of Marah sweet.

able." He sees a festival procession on its way to some heathen temple, and it suggests to him a description of the Church to which he is writing, as "companions in the way, carrying your God and your shrines [he was writing to Ephesus, where the making of little shrines was a great trade, we know, fifty years before, and he means that each Christian's body is a shrine more precious than a heathen craftsman can understand], your Christ and your holy things, being arrayed from head to foot in the commandments of Jesus Christ." Again, he writes to the Romans, "I am God's wheat, and I am ground by the teeth of beasts, that I may be found pure bread of Christ." In the same letter he plays on words with the same spirit of looking everywhere for material for a Christian thought. He would have the Roman Christians sing praise to God, for vouchsafing that the bishop of Syria should be found in the West [in Greek, "the setting land"], having summoned him from the East [in Greek, "the sunrise-land." Cf. our "Occident" and "Orient"]. It is good to *set* from the world unto God, that I may *rise* unto Him."

Two groups of the illustrations of Ignatius deserve special attention. In five of the seven letters are found eleven illustrations drawn from medical practice, and two more that may have had that origin. None of them are such as might not have been thought of by a man who had never studied medicine, but the number and the variety of them makes me think that there was some special reason why this many-sided man, who found in the world

so many symbols of spiritual facts and forces, found more in the lines most familiar to a medical man than in any other. One may suspect that he was once a physician of the body, like St. Luke, before ever he knew the healing of the soul. Again, there are in four of the seven letters six musical illustrations, of which we will read two, as they occur together in chapter four of the letter to the Ephesian Church. "So then it becometh you to run in harmony with the mind of the bishop, which thing also ye do. For your honorable presbytery, which is worthy of God, is attuned to the bishop, even as its strings to a lyre. Therefore in your concord and harmonious love Jesus Christ is sung. And do ye, each and all, form yourselves into a chorus, that being harmonious in concord, and taking the keynote of God, ye may as the result of unity sing with one voice through Jesus Christ unto the Father."[1] The figure of the lyre and its strings may have been a commonplace. No one could have written that carefully exact passage about the chorus, taking its pitch from God, unless he were somewhat of a musician. There is a legend that our Ignatius had

[1] I commonly use Bishop Lightfoot's admirable translation. Here I must depart from it, for he gives "in unison," where I have felt obliged to say "as the result of unity." The great bishop of Durham seems not to have known that when people were singing in *harmony,* they could not be singing in *unison.* Certainly Ignatius's figure of a chorus singing different notes but making a beautiful and agreeable result, is a nobler illustration of diverse views and diverse temperaments held together in the unity of the Spirit, than the picture of a chorus all singing the very same notes would be. The music of the Church Catholic is harmony, the music of those who differ, yet agree. Unison-singing is the music of a mere sect, or section, consisting of people who happen to think alike.

a heavenly vision of angels singing in responsive choirs, and that he at once introduced antiphonal chanting into his Church at Antioch, from which it spread over the Christian world. Such singing was no new thing in the Church when Ignatius died. The Roman governor Pliny heard of it in Bithynia, in 112, as a custom of a still earlier day. Heathens and Jews had used it before Christianity was born. Still some one must have been the first to adapt it to Christian use, and Ignatius had the restless energy which makes men innovators. At any rate he may safely be set down as the first known patron of Church music. It is plain that his emotional nature was particularly impressible through that divine art.[1]

We have given large room to this intense Ignatius, but we have yet to bring in his two chief intensities after all. They were his passion for martyrdom and his passion for the unity of the Church.

(1) Of the passion for martyrdom we need only note that it is there. "I dread your very love," he writes to the Romans, "lest it do me an injury." He is so afraid that they will get a pardon for him, or a commutation of his death-sentence. "I exhort you, be ye not an unseasonable kindness to me. Let me be given to the wild beasts, for through them I can attain unto God." This passion has been called "exaggerated," but surely it is lovable. It is not a

[1] When Theodoret in his *Church History*, written about A. D. 440, ascribed the introduction of antiphonal singing to Diodore and Flavian, laymen of Antioch, about A. D. 350, he must have been relying on a story of something which they really did for the improvement of such music, with an appended statement that it was first introduced in that city.

passion of arrogance, reaching after a great place in the Kingdom. It is a passion of gratitude, of devotion, of humility. "Though I desire to suffer," he writes to the Trallians, "I know not if I am worthy." It is in the same spirit that he says to the Romans again, "If ye be silent and leave me alone, I am a word of God; but if ye desire my flesh, then shall I be again a mere cry." He feels that all his preaching past has been comparatively poor and unfruitful, "the voice of one crying," no more, but if he becomes a martyr, that will be a preaching effective to the last degree. Surely he was right. Martyrs' deaths have always been fruitful of new life in the Church, and a man has a right to be glad if he sees a prospect before him that he will be sown as the seed of a divine harvest.

(2) Ignatius longed for martyrdom, largely because the Church's very life was endangered, and he felt that the deaths of some of her most valued sons would add vastly to her power. The same conditions of danger and conflict inspired in him his other great passion, the passion for unity. He felt that a house divided against itself must fall. He had the Lord's own word for it, and it was the dictate of sanctified common-sense as well. And yet the wills and affections of sinful men are unruly, and the Church on earth always consists of sinful men gathered around the Divine Head. In St. Paul's day there was real danger that the Church of Corinth would go to pieces. In Ignatius's day he saw the same danger everywhere. If the early Church had been taught the modern theory, that denominational

rivalry is a good thing, it would have been divided hopelessly before the end of the first century. Ignatius believed that such division was as bad as "desertion in the face of the enemy," a crime whose penalty is death. Nothing short of careful reading of the letters as a whole will give an adequate idea of the way in which unity is dwelt on all through. "It is therefore profitable for you to be in blameless unity, that ye may also be partakers of God always" (Eph. iv.). "I sing the praise of the Churches, and I pray that there may be in them union of the flesh and of the spirit, which are Jesus Christ's, our never-failing life, a union of faith and love, which is above all things, and what is more than all, a union with Jesus and the Father" (Magnes. i.). "He that is within the sanctuary is clean; but he that is without the sanctuary is not clean,—that is, he that doeth aught without the bishop and presbytery and deacons, this man is not clean in his conscience" (Trall. vii.). "Shun divisions as the beginning of evils. Do ye all follow your bishop, as Jesus Christ followed the Father, and the presbytery as the Apostles, and to the deacons pay respect, as to God's commandment. Let no man do aught of things pertaining to the Church apart from the bishop. Let that be held a valid Eucharist which is under the bishop or one to whom he shall have committed it. Wheresoever the bishop shall appear, there let the people be; even as where Jesus may be, there is the Catholic Church.[1]

[1] This is the first appearance of this phrase in Christian literature. Lightfoot translates "universal" rather than "Catholic," on the ground that the phrase was not yet technical. See his interesting note.

It is not lawful apart from the bishop to baptize, or hold a love-feast; but whatever he shall approve, this is well-pleasing also to God; that everything which ye do may be sure and valid" (Smyrn. viii.).

It is the natural outgrowth of this feeling of the overpowering necessity for unity, that Ignatius should be as intense in preaching submission to leadership, and ultimately to one leader, the bishop, as the responsible head of each Church. The Church's unity is to Ignatius an arch, of which the bishop is the keystone. Displace that uniting force of central authority, and the whole structure of God's Temple on earth is endangered. So he writes to Polycarp, "Have a care for unity, than which nothing is better"; and then, as illustrating the method of this unity, "Let nothing be done without thy consent; neither do thou anything without the consent of God" (Pol. i., iv.). It would be grossly unfair to Ignatius not to point out that he has a doctrine of unity for the bishop too. Not only must he do nothing "without the consent of God," but he must consult his presbyters and consider the wishes of his people. The relation of bishop and diocese is like the relation of husband and wife. Bishop, clergy, and laity must consult together freely, consider one another fully, give up to one another generously. Only, when there is a question of the common good, and a difference of judgment which cannot be resolved, *some final authority must decide.* The modern view says, "The majority." Ignatius says, "The divinely appointed head." He can hardly find words too strong. "Be obedient to the

bishop and to one another, as Jesus Christ was to the Father, and as the Apostles were to Christ and to the Father, that there may be union both of flesh and spirit" (Magnes. xii.). "When ye are obedient to the bishop as to Jesus Christ, it is evident to me that ye are living not after men, but after Jesus Christ" (Trall. ii.). "As many as are of God and of Jesus Christ, they are with the bishop." . . . "It was the preaching of the Spirit, who spake on this wise: Do nothing without the bishop" (Philad. iii. 7.).

One wonders what Ignatius would have said, if he could have been told that a time was coming when the Church would be so strong that it would be thought wiser to have many divisions of it, all independent Churches, each aiming at a catholic extension over the others' ground. He speaks of himself in quaint phrase as "a man composed unto union." Let that be our last thought of the martyr bishop, as we pass on our way.

6. With the letters of Ignatius is most closely connected *The Epistle of St. Polycarp to the Philippians.* We have seen that the Church of Philippi sent a letter to Polycarp asking for copies of any letters written by Ignatius. That letter is lost, but we possess the bishop of Smyrna's reply. It is a good practical exhortation, without very much that is notable in it save its earnestness. An exhortation to obey the presbyters and deacons makes it probable that Philippi had not at that time a local bishop. There is mention of a presbyter, Valens, and his wife, as having disgraced the Christian name by

some sin springing from the evil root of love of money. "Be ye, therefore, yourselves also sober therein," is his charitable comment, "and hold not such as enemies [he seems to have 2 Thess. iii. 15 in his mind], but restore them as frail and erring members, that ye may save the whole body of you." With this is often printed the letter of the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philomelium, giving an account of St. Polycarp's noble death, but that belongs to the middle of the second century and to a later chapter of this book.

We have now taken a view of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* and of all the Christian writings that have come down to us which any scholars of repute now date between 75 and 125. It may be interesting to mention the few little scraps of the writings of Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, once a pupil of St. John the Evangelist, who wrote an *Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord*, and who being a "Chiliast," which is something like a modern "Adventist," got the reputation in later times of being "a man of slender intelligence," losing credit so much that very little of his has come down to us, and again the so-called *Second Epistle of St. Clement of Rome*, which is neither Clement's nor an Epistle, but the first Christian sermon which has come to us, being probably a homily delivered in the Corinthian Church about the middle of the second century, and so highly esteemed that it was copied into a manuscript along with the real letter of Clement, to be read in Church, as that was, from time to time; but these fall outside of our limit, and do not throw light on our

early questions. There is also a *Letter to Diognetus*, which is often printed among the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, but it is probably to be dated as late as 170 or thereabouts, and though a fine statement in defense of Christianity, it has no place here. The object of this chapter has been to make the chief sources for the history of the Post-Apostolic Church in the period most critically important and most clouded by controversy, familiar enough to be something more than mere names, when anywhere the reader encounters a quotation from any of them.

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE: RIVAL THEORIES IN MODERN TIMES.

N the Apostolic Age the Church was governed by Apostles. In the Post-Apostolic Age the Church was governed by bishops. Hence arises a question. Did the Church begin with governing itself in some other manner, as the first Apostles passed away, and then gradually develop this one of leaving almost all governmental authority in the hands of officers called bishops, and finally like its new plan so well as to adopt it universally? Or did the first Apostles, foreseeing that they must soon pass away, devise this scheme of government and leave it as a legacy of wisdom to the Church? Or again, was it part of the original plan of our Lord Jesus Christ?

Christian scholars are much divided in opinion about this matter. We will first look at the two chief theories now held by men of leadership, and then we will call the early witnesses, who lived while the change was going on, and see what they say about it. For the sake of having a convenient label by which to refer to these two theories, we will call them "The Third Century View" and "the Post-Reformation (non-Episcopal) View."

I. *The Third Century View.* In the middle of the third century the general opinion of the Church about its own history was that when our Lord constituted apostles for the governing of His Church, He meant that office to last till the end of time. It was supposed that when He said to the Eleven, "Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world," that was a precise promise of the continuance of their body as a body of trustees to whom a certain ministry was committed, until His coming again, and that the only serious changes made in the Church's ministry in passing from the Apostolic Age were two,—(1) the change in method of work from *itinerant* governors, exercising authority wherever they might feel called to go, to *local* governors, exercising authority only in some one city and its immediate neighborhood, and correspondingly (2) a change of title from apostle, which means "messenger," or very nearly, "itinerant minister," to bishop, which means "overseer." According to this view there were a great many apostles—it had come to be quite a common office—before the close of the Apostolic Age, and as the number multiplied, it came to be thought best to assign particular apostles to particular fields of work, and have an understanding that while all governing power resided in the corporation of the apostles taken together, yet for purposes of administration each apostle would be left responsible for cultivating some small portions of the vineyard without interference from others. Then the name of the governing officer was changed from "apostle" to "bishop," a title which in earlier

times had been given to the second order of the ministry, so that in the New Testament it is always equivalent to "presbyter," which means "elder." A learned bishop, Theodoret of Cyrus, writing (about A. D. 450) a commentary on 1 Timothy iii. 1, puts it in this way: "At that time they called the same persons presbyters and bishops; but those who are now called bishops they called apostles. But as time went on, the name of the apostleship was left for those who were truly apostles, but they gave the name of bishop to those who were formerly called apostles." Returning now to the third century, we may embody the general idea of that age about bishops in two quotations from great leaders of the Church. We draw one quotation from Asia Minor and one from North Africa. Firmilian, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, mentions the Apostles and goes on to speak of "the bishops who succeeded them by vicarious ordination" [Ante-Nicene Christian Library, V. 394]. That curious phrase "vicarious ordination" can only be understood as meaning "ordination into the place of the Apostles." In like manner Cyprian, the martyr-bishop of Carthage, quotes our Lord's words to St. Peter: "Upon this rock I will build My Church," as describing "the honor of a bishop [Cyprian manifestly assumes that honor given to apostles in the New Testament belongs equally to bishops in his day] and the order of His Church," and goes on thus: "Hence, through the changes of times and successions, the ordering of bishops and the plan of the Church flow onwards, so that the Church is founded upon the bishops, and

every act of the Church is controlled by these same rulers" [Ante-Nicene Christian Library, V. 305].

Of course, the Church about A. D. 250 might be in error about its own history of one hundred and fifty years before. These quotations are given simply to illustrate what the Church in the third century actually thought. It may, however, be proper to introduce here a few considerations, often overlooked, which do give more or less support to this view of the continuity of the apostolic office under a new name.

1. Contrary to the commonly received opinion of to-day, our Lord seems to have interested Himself in matters of organization. How do we know? Thus. There are four lists of the Twelve Apostles in the New Testament,—St. Matt. x. 2–4; St. Mark iii. 16–19; St. Luke vi. 14–16; Acts i. 13. No two lists give the names in the same order, though the last two were written by the same man, and yet, on the other hand, the names run always in three groups of four, and no name ever strays out of its own particular group. Further, the *first* name in each group is invariable. This can hardly be a matter of accident. Evidently the first Apostles were organized into three groups, with Simon Peter as the head of the first, Philip as the head of the second, and James, the son of Alphæus, as the head of the third. The following table will illustrate these statements. Taking St. Matthew's list as our standard of comparison, and following the Westcott and Hort Text, we have the numbers running thus (the invariable heads of groups are indicated by Roman numerals):

St. Matt. I, 2, 3, 4; V, 6, 7, 8; IX, 10, 11, 12.
St. Mark I, 3, 4, 2; V, 6, 8, 7; IX, 10, 11, 12.
St. Luke I, 2, 3, 4; V, 6, 8, 7; IX, 11, 10, 12.
Acts I, 4, 3, 2; V, 7, 6, 8; IX, 11, 10 [—].

That our Lord never paid any attention to such matters should hardly be maintained.

2. There are some signs that apostles became numerous in the New Testament period. Besides the original Twelve, we have (13) Matthias, (14) Paul, (15) Barnabas, (16) James, the Lord's brother,[1] (17) Silas,[2] not to include Andronicus and Junias [not *Junia*, as in the King James version of Rom. xvi. 7], of whom the cautious and impartial Lightfoot says, "On the most natural interpretation" they "are distinguished members of the apostulate," and one or two others that might be named. It should be added that the Church could never have had any serious trouble from "false apostles" [2 Cor. xi. 13; Rev. ii. 2], unless the number of persons really holding the apostolic office had become indefinitely large. Perhaps Eusebius may have been wrong when he wrote (*Ecclesiastical History* i. 12), "there were many others who were called apostles, in imita-

[1] Cf. Gal. i. 19, ii. 9; Acts xv. 13, with John vii. 5 and 1 Cor. xv. 7. It will appear that our Lord's "brethren" did not believe on Him six months before His death. One of them, James, became afterwards a chief apostle, and is reckoned by Eusebius and other Church historians as first bishop of Jerusalem in the sense of local presidency. He was the man chiefly known to St. Paul as "James," and therefore the appearance recorded in 1 Cor. xv. 7, was probably an appearance to *him*, finding him sceptical, yet forcing conviction upon him, so that from an opponent he became a believer.

[2] Cf. 1 Thess. i. 1 and ii. 6, "Paul and Silvanus" . . ., and again, "*we* . . . *Apostles*."

tion of the Twelve"; but when we find Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata*, iv. 17), speaking of his namesake of Rome as "the apostle, Clement," it does seem like a bit of genuine tradition from a time, a century earlier, when for a time the same man might be called "apostle" or "bishop" in the Church.

3. In the Revelation (i., ii., iii.), we find certain persons called by the title of "angels" of Churches. They seem to be Church officers having an apostolic fulness of authority, for they are held responsible by our Lord for the general condition of the Churches under their superintendence, yet no such title is known to Church History. It means the same thing as "apostle," and yet it is not "apostle." According to the present theory, this Revelation was sent from God just as the Church was beginning to adapt the apostolic office to new conditions under a new name, laying aside the title given by our Lord Himself. At such a time our Lord speaks from heaven and sends messages and warnings to some of these localized apostles, now ceasing to be called apostles. By giving them directions concerning their work in the new method, He recognizes and sanctions the new method. By changing His own name for their office and yet using a word of similar meaning, He acknowledges them as holding the same office which He instituted, and yet indicates His willingness that His own title for it should be disused.

4. The Epistles of St. Paul to Timothy and Titus seem to point to such a superintendence of the Churches of Ephesus and its neighborhood and

of Crete, respectively, as we now call Episcopal, by men not of the number of the original apostles.

II. *The Post-Reformation (non-Episcopal) View.* Views are very apt to rise out of feelings. After the Reformation there grew up many bodies of Christians who had no episcopate. Some thoughtful leaders regretted the loss,[1] but they felt that they were called of God to organize into new Churches large groups of Christians who had been unrighteously excluded from Church fellowship by the organizations already existing. If neither episcopal oversight nor episcopal ordination was to be had, they must do without them. Hence they read their Church History with a prejudice. The papacy was a human invention which had passed itself off as divine. Why not the episcopacy also? A great many things had been supposed to be proved by "tradition," and the tradition had now been found

[1] The great Lutheran *Confession of Augsburg* says concerning bishops, (*pars* ii., *art.* vii.), "The Churches ought necessarily, and *jure divino*, to obey them." . . . "The bishops might easily retain the obedience that is due them, if they would not press men to observe traditions which cannot be observed with a good conscience." So the *Defense of the Confession* said, "We here again wish to testify that we will gladly preserve the ecclesiastical and canonical polity, if only the bishops will cease to behave cruelly toward our Churches." So Melancthon said, "I see what a Church we shall have, if we overthrow the ecclesiastical polity." So John Calvin in a book *On the Necessity of Reforming the Church* declares that "If they will show us a hierarchy wherein the bishops are so above others that they refuse not to be under Christ, there is no anathema that they will not be worthy of, if there shall be any such, who will not observe it with entire obedience." Whatever the faults and failures of the actual governors of the Church at that period, the greatest leaders of the Continental Reformation still thought that an episcopal government would be an instrument of great value in the hands of a reformed Church.

to be as worthless as any old wives' gossip. It was easy to form a habit of assuming that any testimony of antiquity that one did not like was one of these corrupt traditions, representing only a careless, or an ignorant, departure from the principles of the New Testament. It is a great glory of modern Protestant scholarship that it has for some years been patiently investigating the Church's records and revising its former conclusions on a more truly historical basis. It now accepts a great deal of historical testimony which it used to set aside. Whereas fifty years ago non-Episcopalian scholars of eminence would say, "There is no proof of the existence of monarchical episcopacy before the beginning of the third century," they now say, "Monarchical episcopacy did not get a foothold at Rome till about A. D. 140, having probably been introduced in Asia Minor some years earlier." That learned Presbyterian scholar, the late Doctor Schaff, held it proved that a number of Churches in Asia Minor had diocesan bishops A. D. 115 or earlier, taking this as the date of the martyrdom of Ignatius of Antioch. Then as to the general body of the Church he says, "It is matter of fact that the episcopal form of government was universally established in the Eastern and Western Church as early as the middle of the second century" [*Church History*, ii. 144]. We are certainly drawing nearer to an agreement about our facts. It may be set down as a point conceded in modern scholarship that the very beginnings of diocesan episcopacy belong to the first quarter of the second century or perhaps to the last years of the first century.

But wherever the beginnings of Episcopal government may be dated, it is the general theory of non-Episcopalian scholars that bishops are certainly not apostles under another name, but ministers of a totally different order and origin, gradually transformed from mere presiding officers in a council of their equals into real governors having a distinct office of their own. This theory points to the words used at the election of Matthias (Acts i. 21, 22), as showing that the very idea of an apostle was that of one who had been a companion of the Lord Jesus from the beginning of His ministry, and who could therefore be an irresistible witness to the fact of His resurrection from the grave. St. Paul had not this qualification, but then he had the heavenly vision which caused his conversion, and that is held to be equivalent. Of course, another explanation is at least possible. St. Peter may simply have meant that while there were many Christian believers, otherwise well-gifted, who had also known our Lord closely before His death, and had personally seen Him after His resurrection, a new apostle must by all means be selected from among such, and may also have looked forward quite clearly to a conferring of the apostolic office upon men without that qualification twenty and thirty and forty years later. But many careful scholars maintain positively that it is here defined in Holy Scripture as part of the essential qualification of an apostle that he be thus a personal, independent witness of the fact of the resurrection of our Lord. In that case, it is plain, the apostolic office could not have lasted long.

Doctor Schaff suggests for supporting considerations as favoring his view that bishops of the second century are not apostles renamed, but presbyters transformed:

(1) "The undeniable identity of presbyters and bishops in the New Testament." This is so far from being "undeniable" that it is stoutly denied by some of the latest scholars on Doctor Schaff's side. On the other side, however, it is always maintained as a plain fact of history. It does not seem impossible that if a certain order of the ministry had two titles, one of them might be borrowed after a while to mean something else. For instance the English "Curate" means of old a minister in responsible charge, having "cure" of souls. It means now, almost invariably, an assistant-minister not in responsible charge. To change the meaning of a word is sometimes easier than to revolutionize a form of government. The question is, which did happen about the end of the first Christian century.

(2) "Later, at the close of the first, and even in the second century, the two terms are still used in like manner for the same office."

Non-Episcopalian scholars are apt to speak of a "confusion" in the use of these words lasting to the time of Irenæus (about A. D. 175), who frequently speaks of bishops as "elders." Let it be observed, however, (*a*) that even if there *was* a confusion, that would not settle the question how the confusion came about, (*b*) that there is no example of calling a presbyter "bishop" after the death of St. John, unless it be that the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* and

Hermas are to be dated in the second century [and the cases in Hermas *may* be cases of reference to the later kind of bishop after all], and (*c*) that in calling diocesan bishops "elders" there was never any confusion at all. "Elder" has always been used freely in Greek, Latin, and English, for older men and men of an older day. And even in the more technical sense the highest ecclesiasticism holds a bishop to be an "elder" too, even as St. Peter was, when he wrote, "The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder" (1 Peter v. 1). Surely there was no confusion in his mind between the distinct offices of the presbyter and the Apostle.

(3) "The express testimony of the learned Jerome that the Churches originally, before divisions arose through the instigation of Satan, were governed by the common council of the presbyters, and not till a later period was one of the presbyters placed at the head, to watch over the Church and suppress schisms. He traces the difference of the office simply to 'ecclesiastical' custom, as distinct from divine institution." Jerome *was* a learned man, but not an impartial one. His views were very much colored by his feelings, and at one time in his life it was a joy to him to make light of bishops. But did he know? Certain it is that he was born about two hundred and fifty years after the critical time that we are thinking about, and that Eusebius, a hundred years nearer the events, and quite as learned and scholarly in historical lines, was just as confident on the other side. We can hardly accept either of them as a final authority.

(4) "The custom of the Church of Alexandria, where from the Evangelist Mark down to the middle of the third century, the twelve presbyters elected one of their number president and called him bishop." This is a story told in one of Jerome's letters, and also by Eutychius, a patriarch of Alexandria, writing a history in the tenth century. If this custom really violated what most people considered to be Church principles in the third century, why do we hear of no quarrel about it? Probably it did not. Eutychius says that in that same period there was no bishop in all Egypt outside of Alexandria. Now the Church was strong in Egypt. Probably, the present writer has thought, those "twelve elders" were men who had been ordained to that office in the Church which may be called Apostolic or Episcopal,—twelve "elders" of the lower rank could not have sufficed for the great city of Alexandria in the middle of the third century, when Rome had *forty-six!*—and who governed the Egyptian Churches from Alexandria in reverent imitation of an earlier twelve governing from Jerusalem. When their presiding officer died, they would elect another from among themselves and call him preëminently *the* bishop of Alexandria. This explanation supposes that Jerome had somewhat misunderstood, or misused, the story of a state of things which had come to an end a hundred years before his birth. Whether we are right or wrong, Jerome himself goes right on from this story to the following words,—"For what function belongs to a bishop that does not also belong to

a presbyter, excepting ordination?" (*Jerome, Letter* cxlvi., Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vi. 289.) "*Excepting ordination.*" The story presents a real difficulty, but it is hardly to be taken as showing that the writer thought that presbyters could ordain. Nay, in this very letter he finds it convenient to claim in one place that all bishops are "successors of the apostles."

Twenty years ago, the writer would have ended this chapter here and proceeded at once to call in the early witnesses. To-day there is more to be said about rival theories first. Deepening study has driven back the battle-line of controversy. A new scholarship has sprung up on the non-Episcopalian side, which is frankly dissatisfied with statements even so late as Doctor Schaff's. It recognizes in the letters of Ignatius a prevailing episcopacy in Asia Minor in the early years of the second century. It sees that the explanation of such an appearance must be looked for in the conditions of the first century. It has subjected those conditions to a new and searching examination of microscopic fineness. The fundamental question between the two theories, to state it once more, is this: Are second century bishops apostles under a new name? or are they some other order of ministers promoted to a new office? Many eminent Episcopalian scholars have taken the latter, here called for convenience the "non-Episcopalian," view, and one of the most distinguished of them all, the late Bishop Lightfoot, held it in this form,—the episcopate a development out of the presbyterate, with reservation of the title "bishop," or "over-

seer," to those presbyters who came to be permanent presiding officers, with greatly enlarged powers, and all this an evolution, rather than a revolution, under the eye and guiding hand of St. John, the last survivor of the Twelve. It was the teaching of Bishop Lightfoot that just because the institution of episcopal government of the Church was thus a natural, providential growth, to which the Church's mind was led by the guiding of the Spirit, therefore it was in a particularly high sense of divine origin, not inherently necessary to the Church's being, or well-being, but also not to be given up or set aside without very plain providential intimations that its usefulness had passed away. He was also so far from seeing any such intimations, that in the last years of his life he spoke of "the form of Church government inherited from apostolic times" as one of the "essentials which could under no circumstances be abandoned" by the Church of England in efforts for Home Reunion (*Commentary on Philippians*, Preface xiv.).

Another line taken by an Episcopalian scholar deserves notice on the "non-Episcopalian" side,—that of the late Doctor Edwin Hatch in the Bampton Lectures of 1880, *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches*. This volume has the high distinction of having been introduced to German readers with warm commendation by Professor Harnack, perhaps the most widely learned scholar now living in the department of early Church history. A very great scholar, it may be said, is not always even a

moderately good reasoner. Some readers of Doctor Hatch's book will admire ungrudgingly his laborious learning, and close the volume with a sigh over his defective sense of what constitutes proof. But whether his proofs are held to stand good, or no, some points which he makes should be familiar to a student of to-day.

(1) He still holds the old view of the identity of "presbyters" and "bishops" in the first century, but he explains that they got the name of "presbyters" ("elders") because they were really a council of the elder men in each Christian community. One gathers that he would hold that a young man like Timothy (1 Tim. iv. 12) could not have been a member of such a council in early days. There must have been natural leadership in other ways, but age was one essential condition. This council of older men was something that existed already in all Jewish communities under the same name. What more natural than for Jewish Christians to borrow it without change? The title "bishop," on the other hand, comes from Greek sources. Greek clubs and societies were apt to have an *episcopos*—so we may represent in English characters the word which we have adopted into English speech as "bishop," and which means "overseer,"—and in such organizations the matters looked after by the *episcopos* were money matters. Obviously, argues Dr. Hatch, the Christian Churches called their "elders" "overseers" from the same kind of oversight, because they received the alms of the Christian community,

and decided how they should be used.[1] Later, he would suggest, one "elder" came to have all this "overseeing" left in his hands. Then he soon came to have an exclusive hold on the title which belonged to that work. This theory provides a perfectly possible and simple explanation for the transference of the title "bishop" from many to one. No early writer says that things did happen in this way. Indeed, they tell us that things happened in another way. Dr. Hatch claims that their statements are not to be believed, that their explanation is obviously artificial, invented to cover a departure from the earlier ways, and that *his* explanation makes all the known facts fall easily into place.

(2) It is a very important part of Dr. Hatch's theory that these Christian ministries of presbyters, or bishops, and deacons, were at first purely a business matter. Elders or bishops did not necessarily teach or preach, baptize, celebrate the Eucharist, or do any spiritual duties whatever. Those things were for "prophets" and "teachers" to attend to. These

[1] This is quite possible, but all arguments as to what people ought to have meant in adopting words to express new ideas are highly precarious. Thus if some Chinese student of forgotten English, centuries hence, shall argue that because "steamboat" meant "boat urged forward by steam," therefore we must have meant by "sawhorse" "horse urged forward by a saw," he will be doing no worse than philological scholars have been known to do before, but he will be profoundly mistaken. Men have a meaning. They look about for a word to express it. If they find one that suits them, they seize upon it. They do not stop to think whether that word might more logically have been used for something else which they did not happen to want to say. Dr. Hatch assumes constantly that Christians really had nothing to say about their ordained ministry which a Jew might not have said of his village-elders, or a Greek of the steward of his club.

presbyter-bishops were simply keepers of accounts, managers of business matters, such as the distribution of poor-relief, and then because this last duty included a responsibility for deciding who were worthy applicants, judges in all cases of Church discipline. They were rulers, not pastors. Any gifted Christian might be a prophet, a teacher, a leader in spiritual things, without any ordination at all. Ordination set a man apart for serving tables and ruling and for nothing else. This view is supported by Dr. Hatch, (p. 78), by a reference to 1 Tim. v. 17, "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honor, especially they who labor in the word and doctrine." "It is a clear inference," he says, that "if they taught as well as ruled, they combined two offices." Perhaps one should observe, however, that it is ruling, and doing it well, that brings double honor, not ruling and doing something else, and again, that ruling well seems to be defined as especially good, if it *includes* teaching, as if the writer conceived teaching as part of the ruling. And that is just what this writer did hold. He says (1 Tim. iii. 2), "a bishop MUST BE . . . APT TO TEACH," a man of the teacher's gift and habit. Why should an *episcopos* such as Dr. Hatch supposes be required to possess an endowment of this kind? Did a Greek social club require anything of the sort of its *episcopos?*

As an example of Continental thought about the Christian beginnings, we may refer to a work of M. Réville, a professor in the Sorbonne, *Les Origines de l' Episcopat.* It represents the latest word of French

Protestantism. No scholar, says M. Réville, pays any attention now to alleged utterances of Jesus Christ after His resurrection. To attach any belief to such passages as St. Matt. xxviii. 18–20, or St. John xx. 20–23, would be totally unhistorical. He holds with Dr. Hatch that all ordained ministers in the early Church had a purely secular ministry, and that all really spiritual ministries were performed by volunteers who felt moved thereto,—of course, presbyters and such like *might* have such movings as well as others,—but that gradually the non-spiritual ministry of table-serving and financiering assumed to itself all spiritual functions, as spiritual power declined. The very first Christian Churches, he tells us, were thoroughgoing democracies. At Corinth, for example, St. Paul had, and claimed, no authority whatever. He had no power to carry out any policy there except as he might be able by persuasive argument to induce a majority in the Church to adopt his views. "Inspiration" and "prophecy" were the great forces of those early days, and prevailed mightily over such considerations as "tradition" and "custom" and "ecclesiastical law." This does not seem just like St. Paul's idea, who wrote, "I will know, not the speech of them which are puffed up, but the power. . . . Shall I come to you with a rod?" Or again, "The rest will I set in order, when I come"; "We have no such custom, neither the Churches of God"; "If I come again, I will not spare"; "I write these things being absent, lest being present I should use sharpness." Doubtless there was a highly democratic party in Corinth,

but it would seem as if St. Paul insisted that he had just that authority which they denied.[1]

But the most notable points in M. Réville's view are two. (1) He finds a difference between the presbyter and the bishop. The Churches of Palestine organized in true Jewish fashion with a council of elders, he thinks. Churches mostly of Gentile origin organized in another way. Both kinds of Church had subordinate officers and called them by the same name, "deacons." But bishops and presbyters were somewhat different officers of different groups of Churches. The fact that St. Paul wrote to the Church of Philippi as under the care of "bishops and deacons," and that St. Polycarp writing to the same Church fifty or sixty years later, mentions only "presbyters and deacons," gives him no difficulty. He supposes a serious change in Church government to have taken place at Philippi in the interval,—a change too from a Gentile to a Jewish predominance! (2) Having to deal with the speech of St. Paul to the Ephesian presbyters

[1] As a further illustration of the difference between great learning and a keen sense of what constitutes proof, one may take this precious piece of argument,—"Neither at Tyre, nor at Ptolemais, is there the least trace of any ecclesiastical organization whatever." Precisely so. All that we hear of Tyre as a Christian centre is contained in three verses (4–6) of Acts xxi., and all that we learn of Ptolemais in that character is contained in one verse more (7) of that same chapter. There is equally no trace that the disciples in those places ever had anything to eat. There is also no trace that they wore clothing when they went abroad. Indeed, the fact that they found no difficulty in all kneeling down on the shore, when they prayed, might be taken to suggest that they did not wear clothes. Surely the argument of this eminent scholar can only be described in his own beautiful and expressive tongue. *C'est très naïf!*

(Acts xx. 17, 28), where he speaks of "the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you *overseers*," in Greek, "bishops," he sets it down as a late forgery contrived on purpose to give an appearance of high sanction to what was really an innovation on the ecclesiastical order, when "bishops" and presbyters *had* come to be identified in the popular mind (and had not yet been pulled apart again by the setting up of a diocesan bishop), and were supposed really to have been endued with mysterious powers by the Holy Ghost at their ordination. Correspondingly, the Epistles to Timothy and Titus are set down as forgeries of the same period and purpose. This tendency to set aside portions of the New Testament volume as unauthoritative is a very distinguishing sign of the times. Of course, it has been done by many critics for many generations. It was done by heretics in the second century. But it is now the easy resort of Christian scholars who consider themselves very orthodox. Meanwhile those of us who hold the old-fashioned view of the origins of the ministry feel justified in asking the attention of our brethren on the other side to this fact,—"Your best modern scholars are insisting that St. Paul cannot have written the letters to Timothy and Titus which the Church accepted as Sacred Scriptures, because they find them to mean what we have always said that they meant." We cannot here go into the question whether a forger did impose, or whether a forger could have imposed, upon the Church about A. D. 90–100 letters purporting to be of St. Paul, but gravely misrepresenting him, and in-

tended to bolster up a system which had all grown up in the years, not more than thirty-seven at the outside, since St. Paul suffered martyrdom.

A notable presentation of the non-Episcopalian theory in its later manner is that of Dr. A. C. McGiffert, a Presbyterian scholar of distinction, Professor of Church History in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, a pupil of Harnack, but a thoroughly independent enquirer, in his book, *The Apostolic Age*, published in 1897. Like most of the later writers on his side of the question he dwells much on the importance of the "prophets," with their special gifts, in the early years of the Church, and he regards "bishop" as the title of an office of financial rather than spiritual interest. But he gives his view much greater historical probability by suggesting that it was just exactly the men of most marked spiritual endowments, "apostles," "prophets," "teachers," to whom the office of distributing the Church funds and the consequent administration of the Church's discipline were ordinarily committed. That helps to account, as other forms of this theory had failed to account, for the obvious fact that our earliest Christian writings treated these officers as if they *were* especially concerned with spiritual things. The *episcopoi* were men who had spiritual oversight, Dr. McGiffert would say, but they had not these spiritual cares because they were Church officers under this title. They were put in trust with this semi-secular office because they had already risen to leadership in more purely spiritual things. What happened, he goes on to enquire, when the supply

of supernaturally gifted "prophets" and "teachers" began to fail? and his answer is, The Church looked around for suitable men to be *episcopoi* and found them among her elder membership rather than in the younger set. We all agree that "elders" and "younger men" are sometimes used both in the New Testament and in other early Christian writings in an entirely untechnical way. "Likewise, ye younger, submit yourselves unto the elder" (1 Peter v. 5), certainly does not mean, "Ye deacons be subject to the presbyters." So, Dr. McGiffert would say, "elders" continued for long to be no technical term at all, but simply meant the mature, experienced men, the natural leaders of the Christian community. From among such alone would "bishops" be chosen as soon as extraordinary spiritual gifts began to fail. Thus neither those who identify "bishops" and "presbyters," nor those who think that the two are distinct groups of officers, are right. Rather, there is no *office* of presbyters at all, but some presbyters, that is "elder Christians," were put into a special office as "bishops," and others were not. Acts xiv. 23 and Titus i. 5 are not to be understood of ordaining men to be elders, but of appointing certain elder men to an office not named, in fact the office of an *episcopos*. To the present writer this seems the most defensible form of the non-Episcopalian view that he has ever seen presented. It does not, however, seem to account fully satisfactorily for the emergence of a clerical order of presbyters, who may be young men, appearing in a graduated hierarchy, between a highly authoritative bishop and his

deacons, in the first years of the second century. It may be noted that Dr. McGiffert is one of those scholars who reconstruct the New Testament with a strong hand, when it does not suit them. The Book of the Acts is here set down as a composition of one who had never known St. Paul, and had in some points totally misunderstood him, in the last years of the first century. "The ascription to him [St. Paul] and to other apostles of the power to impart the Spirit by the laying on of hands, which we find in the Book of Acts, is certainly not in accord with his conception" (p. 542). "We should hardly expect one to be so unfamiliar with his [St. Paul's] Gospel, as the author of the Acts seems to have been" (p. 238 n.). In like manner the Epistles to Timothy and Titus are set down as not only not St. Paul's, but very poor compositions indeed. "It is not simply the absence of the great fundamental conceptions of the Pauline Gospel, it is the presence of another Gospel of a different aspect, that is most significant" (p. 403). They were a deliberate forgery founded on letters actually written by the Apostle. "Paul's brief letters to Timothy and Titus coming into his hands, he added to them in good faith what he believed Paul himself would say in the light of the peculiar needs of the day" (p. 412). What was that day, according to these lights? "The emphasis upon heresy in all three epistles, the lack of the primitive idea of the endowment of all believers with spiritual gifts, fitting them for special forms of service, and the substitution for such inspired believers of appointed officers, charged with the per-

formance of teaching as well as of financial and disciplinary functions, points to a time as late as the close of the first century or the early years of the second" (pp. 413–414).

This, then, is the latest hinge of the controversy, the question whether certain books received for ages as Holy Scripture, are truly unworthy of the name. It is a question for scholars. It will be discussed for a generation or two, probably, before they will agree. It cannot be discussed here. Only it does seem fair to say that one of the grounds which this newest scholarship is alleging for casting certain books out of the New Testament Canon, is that they do not speak as it would judge that they ought to speak, on the subject of the origins of the Christian ministry.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE: THE WITNESSES CALLED.

WE have seen that there is much in which scholars cannot yet agree. What, for instance, was the form of government of the Church of Corinth in St. Paul's day? Was it a pure democracy, wherein the members of the Church managed their own affairs, deciding all questions by a majority vote? Or was it a sort of constitutional monarchy, limited partly by some well-recognized rights of Christians generally, under the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and partly by the consideration and largeness and common sense of St. Paul, the governing apostle? Different men read the New Testament indications and come to the most opposite results. It is agreed, however, on all sides, that in the end of the first century and the beginning of the second a government by one official head called a bishop was appearing in the Churches, that there was *something* new about it, and that by the middle of the second century the new use was pretty general. We are now to call in some early witnesses and see if they can answer certain questions for us. We want to know whether government by single officers (under whatever name) was established by apostles in any of the great Church centres, whether

the apostles' office was understood to have continued beyond the Twelve and St. Paul, and whether government by chief officers such as we now call "bishops" was regarded by men who were in the midst of the change of methods (whatever that change may have been) as part of a divine plan.

1. First we will call Eusebius, the historian. He lived two centuries after the time about which we are enquiring but then he had access to many valuable records now lost, and among them to the Church History of Hegesippus, written as early as A. D. 165. According to Eusebius, then, the Church of Jerusalem had James the Lord's brother, called in Holy Scripture an apostle, for its first bishop. He quotes Hegesippus as saying that "James, the brother of the Lord, succeeded to the government of the Church in conjunction with the Apostles," and Clement of Alexandria as saying that "Peter and James and John . . . strove not after honor, but chose James the first bishop of Jerusalem." After James are named fourteen other bishops of Jerusalem before the destruction under Hadrian, A. D. 132, the list beginning with Symeon, son of Clopas, which Clopas was, according to Hegesippus, a brother of St. Joseph, making Symeon a (legal) cousin of our Lord. Eusebius illustrates his own careful accuracy by telling us that he could find no table of these first bishops of Jerusalem with their dates, but that it was understood that they were all short-lived.

For the Church of Alexandria he gives a list of bishops with definite dates, St. Mark the Evangelist coming first, Annianus following him A. D. 62,

and governing the Church for twenty-two years, Abilius succeeding A. D. 84, Cerdon A. D. 97, and so on.[1]

For the Church of Antioch Eusebius does not profess to know the dates of things for the first beginnings, but he is clear that Ignatius was the second bishop, Evodius having preceded him. Even severe critics acknowledge that this must be a historical statement. A mere legend would have connected so interesting a person as Ignatius straight back to St. John or St. Peter or St. Paul.

Coming now to the Church of the imperial city, Rome, Eusebius had a list of the early bishops, made by Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, who visited Rome in the year 177, and who gives this testimony: "The blessed Apostles, having founded and established the Church, entrusted the office of the episcopate to Linus." Then come Anencletus, Clement, the writer of the letter to the Church of Corinth, Evarestus, Alexander, Sixtus, Telesphorus, Hyginus, Pius,

[1] Some scholars pour contempt on these dates, and so on the whole list. As an example of their reasoning take this. If St. Mark's successor was made bishop in the year 62, St. Mark must have died in that year or earlier, but according to the best traditions St. Mark wrote his Gospel after St. Peter's death, and so as late as A. D. 65 at least. But to suppose that St. Mark must have died before he could have had a successor as apostle or bishop in charge of the Alexandrian Church, and that he could by no possibility have left a substitute at Alexandria, as St. Paul once left St. Timothy at Ephesus, and go somewhere else to do a special work which especially called him, is a very uncareful assumption. It is not scholarly to throw Eusebius overboard whenever one does not like his statements, and one may predict that after Lightfoot's examination of the Eusebian chronology of bishops of Rome and bishops of Antioch has had time to be digested by scholars generally, the old-time historian will be treated with more respect.

Anicetus, Soter, Eleutherus. Nothing could be clearer or more positive. On the other hand, some really eminent modern scholars set this testimony all aside. They do not question that Irenæus found such a list of bishops at Rome; but they argue (rather uncertainly) from certain passages of the *Shepherd* of Hermas, that there was no one "elder" who had an acknowledged claim to preside over the Church, but that it was still under the care of a council of presbyters, and that Hermas's brother Pius must have been the very first "elder" who succeeded in making himself a single governor of the Church of the Romans. Within forty years afterward, according to this view, everybody at Rome had forgotten the circumstances, and it was generally understood that they had had diocesan bishops for a century! Nor does Eusebius leave us to depend on Irenæus alone as his authority. He quotes Hegesippus as saying that he made a list of the Roman bishops down to Anicetus, not less than ten years before the visit of Irenæus. It is true that some learned men think that the Greek of Eusebius has been miscopied, and that where we now read "I made a succession down to Anicetus," we ought rather to read as the statement of Hegesippus, "I made a visit till the time of Anicetus." If they are right, so much the better. Hegesippus, eagerly collecting materials for a Church history, either made a list of Roman bishops within twenty-five years after the time when Pius is supposed to have made himself the first one, or else made a visit in Rome in the very days of Pius himself, and made no record of

any such interesting overturn. All the authorities consulted by Eusebius seem to have given him the same impression, that the transition from apostles to diocesan bishops was immediate.

2. The second witness shall be the unknown author of *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.* We want him simply for one point, to tell us whether the office of apostles was continued and extended beyond those named in the New Testament. This is what he says (Chapter XI.):

"Now with regard to the apostles and prophets according to the decree of the Gospel, so do ye. Let every apostle that cometh to you be received as the Lord. But he shall not stay more than one day, and if need be, another also: and if he stay three days, he is a false prophet. And when the apostle departeth, let him take nothing except bread enough till he reach his next lodging. And if he ask for money, he is a false prophet."

We seem to have here a picture of a church officer visiting a series of rural communities who do not know his face, and who do know that false apostles sometimes impose themselves upon the Churches. "If he ask for money, he is a false prophet," is superficially very different from "The bishop will expect an offering, at every visitation, for diocesan missions." Yet there is no difference in principle. A true apostle will be in haste to get on from one work to another, and will ask nothing for himself. All that is true of the modern episcopal visitation.

It is to be noted further that these Churches occasionally visited by itinerant "apostles" are bidden

(Chapter XV.), "Elect for yourselves bishops and deacons," as a local ministry. Apostles, bishops, deacons,—these are the three orders of the ministry, as in the New Testament. Some of these have supernatural gifts of utterance in God's Name and are known as "prophets," but there is no hint that the prophets are an order of the ministry. A layman may be a prophet. A man in any of the three orders may be a prophet. The sham apostle is declared to be "a false prophet." The inference is that a genuine apostle would be expected to be a man having something of the prophetic gift. We can see also how the gradual withdrawal of supernatural gifts of a prophetic kind and the fear of false apostles would make a government by itinerant apostles, unknown by face to the Churches which they visited, more and more undesirable. A localized, steady oversight would be demanded in the natural order of things.

Some admirable scholars take another view of these "apostles." They are mere travelling preachers, we are told, to whom the Church gave the same title as to the original Twelve, but in an entirely different meaning. The Jews, it is argued, used the word "apostle" for a kind of Church messenger in their arrangements after the destruction of Jerusalem; but it should be added that in their use the title was given to a very eminent and responsible officer, and in any case there seems to be no possibility that these "apostles" of the *Teaching* were messengers from one Church to another. No such thing is hinted at. The question might naturally be asked,

too, what these "travelling preachers" were good for, that they should be received "*as the Lord*"—a most significant reference to our Lord's word to the Twelve (St. Matt. x. 40), "He that receiveth you, receiveth Me,"—in communities having already a supply of bishops and deacons, some of them endowed with the prophet's gift beside. On the whole, the *Teaching* seems to favor the theory that the Church had "apostles" as chief ministers, and plenty of them, till it chose to give them another name.

In Chapter XIII., occurs a passage about paying tithes to the prophets, "for they are your chief priests." It has been urged that this is a clear testimony to the writer's feeling that "inspiration" was immensely superior to "order." A mere layman, it is said, could, if a prophet, perform any ministry in the Church, for instance, celebrate the Eucharist. The most stiffly ecclesiastical thinker will always readily admit that Almighty God could at any time and in any place call a man to any work of special ministry (as certainly St. Paul *was* called, "not of *men*," by any human selection, "nor by *man*," through any human agency, as of ordination) without connecting that man back to any successional ministry beginning from our Lord through His early apostles. But some of us are loath to think of God as using the method of "special creation" for the Church's ministry, any more than for filling the world with the forms of animal and vegetable life. Prophets were a splendid gift to the Church and well deserved to be supported by the Church, that they might be free for teaching functions. They deserved

to be supported by tithes as well as ever the Jewish chief priests did. We do not see that the *Teaching* means more than that. If, however, it *is* to be taken as meaning more, it must mean a great deal more, even that the ministry of the Christian Church was already clearly recognized as including a *sacrificing priesthood*, such as the ministry of the elder Church, and that is a conclusion which most Protestant scholars are quite unready to accept.

3. Clement of Rome has been often quoted by writers on what may be called the Episcopalian side for something which they can never prove by him. They represent him as saying that the Apostles expressly provided that other men should succeed to their office. He may have meant to say that. More probably he did not. But he did contrive a sentence that is wonderfully ambiguous. These are his words as given in Lightfoot's translation of Chapter XLIV.

"And our Apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the name of the bishop's office. For this cause, therefore, having received complete foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid persons, and afterward they provided a [continuance], that if [these] should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministration. Those, therefore, who were appointed by them, or afterward by other men of repute with the consent of the whole Church, and have ministered unblamably to the flock of Christ in lowliness of mind, peacefully and with all modesty, and for long time have borne a good report with all,—these men we consider to be unjustly thrust out from their

administration. For it will be no light sin for us, if we thrust out those who have offered the gifts of the bishop's office unblamably and holily."

We bracket two words in Bishop Lightfoot's translation, because there is great doubt about them. Clement did not say "if these should fall asleep," but "if *they* should fall asleep." Bishop Lightfoot is sure that he meant "if these," *i. e.*, "the aforesaid persons" of the next preceding clause, and the writer of these lines inclines to follow this suggestion, but oh! how easy it would have been for St. Clement to have said "these," if that really was his meaning. As it is, we cannot tell from the language used which of two things he intended to convey, whether that the Apostles provided that when they (the Apostles) fell asleep, other men should succeed to the apostolic office, or that the provision was that when they (the bishops and deacons formerly mentioned) fell asleep, other men should be bishops and deacons in turn. It seems just possible that the good man was ambiguous on purpose, distinctly intending that both statements should be covered (and intimated) by his phrase. But at any rate the ambiguity is there. No one can expect to prove from Clement that the Apostles provided that they themselves should have successors.

Nevertheless there are five little points in this brief passage which are important as throwing light on Clement's mind, and which are not ambiguous at all. (1) *Our Apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ.* Clement believed, rightly or wrongly, that our Lord had personally interested Himself, and had

given some direction to His Apostles, about the future organization of the ministry of His Church. (2) *Having received complete foreknowledge.* The word for "complete" is that commonly rendered "perfect." Surely Clement had seen nothing, had heard of nothing, in the way of development of the offices of the ministry thus far, which did not appear to him as having been foreseen by apostolic wisdom. (3) *They provided a continuance.* Here there is much difference of opinion as to what word Clement really wrote. A recent discovery of an old Latin version of this letter makes it nearly certain that for "continuance" we should read "additional direction." But whether it was a "continuance" or a "direction," it remains that Clement regarded the apostles not only as having foreseen everything that would make contention about the ministry, but as having made due provision how the difficulty should be met. (4) The strife that was understood to have been thus foreseen and provided for was to be *over the name of the bishop's office.* At this very time the name of "bishop" must already have begun to be used in a new way in the regions of Asia Minor and Syria, and Clement must have heard of it. The Ignatian letters will hardly allow us to suppose that when the second bishop of Antioch wrote them, diocesan episcopacy had been known less than twenty years. In that case Clement implies (whatever the nature of the change may be understood to be, and whether we understand him to have approved or disapproved) that the Apostles had left distinct directions covering this point one way or the other. (5) Clement de-

scribes presbyters as *those who have offered the gifts of the bishop's office.* As against the theory of the learned Dr. Hatch, that the duties of the ordained ministry were mainly secular at first, and that all particularly spiritual offices might be rendered by very spiritual laymen just as well, Clement chooses as the very chief idea of the office of a presbyter the thought that he is a man who *offers the gifts*,—offers at the Altar the great Christian Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist. *The gifts of the bishop's office.* The Holy Gifts belong to that office. The Holy Gifts give the best definition of that office. According to the view of the primitive ministry advanced by Hatch and Harnack, we ought certainly to have here, "those who have faithfully administered the Church's poor relief, and upheld firmly the Church's discipline."[1] But that was not Clement's ruling idea of what a presbyter was for. He is not chiefly preacher, or pastor, or teacher, but one who offers an offering.

A few words more must be quoted from St. Clement. He tells us in Chapter XL., that

"We ought to do all things in order, as many as

[1] Since these words were written Dr. McGiffert's *Apostolic Age* has appeared. On p. 660 he implies that he holds the "offering of the gifts" here referred to to be precisely the administration of poor relief. But even if it be granted that "offering the gifts," as equivalent to "celebrating the Eucharist," is technical language of a later day, it seems hard to understand how any one can take this "offering" as anything else than an offering to God. And coming before God with an offering, even of Christian men's alms, is a very different thing to take as the characteristic of a man's work in life, from an office of distribution of charities among the needy. The Clementine idea of the ministry is that it offers something—we need not now decide what—to God.

the Master hath commanded us to perform at their appointed seasons. Now the offerings and ministrations He commanded to be performed with care, and not to be done rashly and in disorder, but at fixed times and seasons. And where and by whom He would have them performed, He Himself fixed by His own supreme will, that all things being done with piety according to His good pleasure, might be acceptable to His will. They, therefore, that make their offerings at the appointed seasons are acceptable and blessed; for while they follow the institutions of the Master, they cannot go wrong. For unto the high priest his proper services have been assigned, and to the priests their proper office is appointed, and upon the Levites their proper ministrations are laid. The layman is bound by the layman's ordinances."

The object of quoting this passage is to show that Clement was in the habit of regarding a good deal of the Church order of his day as a matter of divine law rather than of human expediency. Particular attention may be invited to two points. The first is that he believed the Church to be under a divine command to make certain offerings at particular times. What offerings? At what times? The only thing to which the Church's practice points us clearly is the celebration of the Eucharist on every Lord's Day. We may be pretty sure that, whether rightly or wrongly, Clement, the hearer of St. Paul and St. Peter, believed the Church's practice in that particular to rest upon a distinct "Thus saith the Lord." The second point is that Clement found in

the Church's system a high priest, priests, and Levites, or something that could be called by those names, as a matter of divine appointment. This is stoutly denied by many scholars. Bishop Lightfoot, for instance, thinks it unfair to press the analogy of three orders. All that Clement means, he thinks, is to say, "The Jewish Church had a fixed order from God. We might naturally expect that He would wish the Christian Church to have a fixed order, too." But the present writer has seen no discussion of this important point,—St. Clement does not say that these things *used to be*, as in some former divine order, but that they *are*. It was once argued gravely that this letter must have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem, because all these allusions are in present tenses. It has been proved abundantly, and all scholars agree, that the letter is fully twenty-five years later than that destruction, and the consequent overthrow of the old order. Then further, it has been pointed out that Josephus speaks of such things in the present in the same way, writing long after they had ceased to be. There scholarship would seem to have stopped, but surely it ought to take one step more, and answer the question how these men came to use such language, speaking of things as still present which belonged really to a vanished past.

The two cases seem to need different explanations. In that of Josephus, it may be submitted, we have the language of a Jew who believes sincerely that it is God's will that the Temple system go on till the world's end. He regards the present interruption as

a temporary trial of faith, and he ignores the interruption. "The sacrifices are offered thus and so," he says, because that is the everlasting law of them in his belief, and he will take no notice of the fact that they are suspended for a while. In Clement's case there can be no such reason as that. We must accept him as holding the order of the Jewish Church to have decayed and waxed old and to be now gone forever. If he uses the phrases of the old order to describe any things as existing realities, it must be because he regards the things of which he so speaks as being realities still, verily reproduced in the life of the Christian Church. If we are not to take him so, we must make him out to use human language in some non-human fashion. Lightfoot objects to such a view that it would be considered "mere ingenious trifling" to hunt out Christian analogies for Clement's reference to different forms of Old Testament sacrifice in the succeeding chapter, but he overlooks the fact, which really ought to be made known to good people of to-day, that most Christians of that time would not have thought it trifling at all. Every form of Jewish sacrifice was believed to be a "type," filled with Christian meaning, and to have analogies in the Christian Eucharist. Almost, if not quite, every sort of Christian mind believed in what is called "mystical interpretation." Even against so great a scholar, and interpreter, also, as Bishop Lightfoot, it may be maintained that Clement does assert the presence of a high priest, priests, and Levites, all three, in the order of the Christian ministry. They would be, of course, the apostle, bishops,

and deacons, of the *Teaching*, the bishop, presbyters, and deacons of the Ignatian phraseology.

4. St. Ignatius of Antioch has already assured us of the presence of bishops (in the sense of single governors of Churches) in Syria and Asia Minor about the time of the death of the Apostle St. John. It remains still to ask whether he regarded the bishop's office as a matter of good, wise human judgment, or as of divine ordering. Three passages, from as many different letters, will tell us as much as we can learn of his view.

(*a*) In *Ephesians III.* he says, "Jesus Christ also, our inseparable Life, is the mind of the Father, even as the bishops that are settled in the farthest parts of the earth are in the mind of Jesus Christ."

Now Ignatius may have been right or wrong about his facts. We are at liberty to suspect that he exaggerated his expression somewhat beyond his real opinion. But after all allowances, this is testimony too strong to be set aside that the diocesan bishop was by this time established in a considerable portion of the Church. "Farthest parts of the earth" may be a very great exaggeration, but it simply could not be said by a man who knew all the time that the thing was not true of great, conspicuous Church centres such as Rome, Alexandria, Corinth, Jerusalem, Cæsarea, to name none about which he can fairly be supposed to have been mistaken. But what (for this is still more important) does Ignatius mean by "in the mind of Christ"? Bishop Lightfoot rejects the interpretation "by the will of Christ," which certainly would not be a fair transla-

tion of the Greek phrase, and says that the bishops are represented as "sharing the mind of Christ." Would not the natural way to say *that* be, that "the mind of Christ was *in them*"? Let us look closely at both sides of what we must carefully observe to be a comparison. Here is a parallel between two facts, and the heavenly is "even as" the earthly. The higher, heavenly fact is that our Lord is the *mind* of the Father, not, of course, the instrument by which the Father thinks, but the expressed judgment of the Father, the uttered purpose of the Father, the mind made known. This relation of the Son as the expression of the Father's mind is a close parallel to a well-known earthly fact, that these fast multiplying bishops, spreading out into the remote places of the earth, "are in," form a part of, "the expressed judgment," "the uttered purpose," "the mind made known," of the Divine Son Himself. With all the parallelism, too, there is a significant difference. Our Lord is the mind of the Father. The bishops are *in* the mind of the Son. *They* are but a *part* of what he has to say. Yet also, a part of what he has to say, they really *are*.

(*b*) In *Magnesians VI.* we have a famous passage:

"Be ye zealous to do all things in godly concord, the bishop presiding after the likeness of God, and the presbyters after the likeness of the council of the Apostles, with the deacons also, who are most dear to me, having been entrusted with the diaconate of Jesus Christ, who was with the Father before the worlds and appeared at the end of time."

Certain scholars have insisted eagerly that Ignatius here recognizes an older idea, that the presbyters were the true successors of the Apostles, the bishop being an ecclesiastical afterthought for whom something had to be provided, so this bishop of more than vaulting ambition compares *his* office to that of God Himself! It must be acknowledged that the martyr sometimes indulged in a sprawling luxuriance of comparison. Here and in another passage soon to be quoted, he parallels the deacons of each Church to our Lord Jesus Christ himself. But there is always an underlying thought. Whence then comes this idea of comparing the presbyters to "the council of the Apostles"? In a Church service of somewhat later times we know that the bishop sat behind the altar at the upper end of the place of meeting, with his presbyters arranged on either side of him in a semicircle. Ignatius, who compares the presbyters to a crown, had probably seen the same arrangement, and it suggested to his quick fancy the idea of our Lord, "God manifest in the flesh," with His Apostles gathered about Him. Again, it may have suggested, if Ignatius knew the Revelation of St. John, that vision in the fourth chapter where the throne of God was seen, and around it four and twenty elders, representing, apparently, by a combination of the number of the twelve patriarchs and that of the Twelve Apostles the worship of both the elder and the later Church. Either way, or both ways, Ignatius would be brought to think of the bishop as presiding "after the likeness," or as some read it, "in the place" of God, while the presbyters are

gathered about him, as the Apostles were once gathered around the Divine Man, the Representative of the Father here on earth. But suppose that Ignatius had been asked to make the same picture illustrate the life of the Church in the days of St. Paul. Can any one doubt that then he would have described each apostle of the Church, wherever he might come, as presiding in the place, or likeness, of God, while the presbyters were gathered around that apostle in the likeness of the council gathered about the Lord, which had itself consisted of apostles, so few years before? To Ignatius's thought, undoubtedly, the Apostles had had two very different positions at different periods in their experience. In our Lord's earthly ministry they had been helpers to the Church's chief minister. After our Lord's earthly ministry was over, they were made to be in a sense chief ministers themselves. The Church's presbyters succeeded in due time to the former function of the Apostles as helpers of the chief minister. At a later day officers under the name of bishops were found succeeding to that other function of the apostles as chief ministers in the likeness of the invisible Divine Head. Ignatius certainly did not mean to exalt the bishop of his day above the original Apostles, but when he presents the bishop as "presiding after the likeness of God," he certainly claims for him that he holds in turn the fulness of the original Apostles' authority.

One more quotation, and we have done with this long study of controversy. In the letter to the Church of *Tralles* (Chapter III.), we find this:

"In like manner let all men respect the deacons as Jesus Christ, even as they should respect the bishop as being a type of the Father, and the presbyters as the council of God and as the council of Apostles. Apart from these there is not even the name of a Church."

"Apart from these no Church is called [so]," is the more literal rendering of the last phrase, but Bishop Lightfoot's version seems to give the only possible meaning. One may guess that if Ignatius could have foreseen how the history of the Church would unfold itself in these later days, he would not have spoken quite so strongly. Certainly the "man composed unto union" would have wept with passionate grief over the vision of a Church divided into denominations owning no common discipline and keeping no single standard of the faith. On the other hand, he who wrote the phrase "where Jesus is, there is the Catholic Church," would have felt obliged, we may think, to acknowledge that a congregation of very members of Christ, meeting constantly together for praise and prayer, and maintaining a high standard of righteous living and loving self-devotion, under the guiding ministry of a "prophet" only, apart from any offices of bishop or presbyter or deacon in the Ignatian meaning of those words, was still a great spiritual fact, which must be called a Church of Christ. But having thus essayed to tell what would have been the utterance of Ignatius in the nineteenth or twentieth century, we must in justice return to what he did say in the beginning of the second, "Apart from these,"—the

three orders of bishop, presbyters, and deacons,—"there is not even the name of a church." That sentence shows two things concerning the mind of Ignatius: first, that he thought this ministry, while in some ways a new order of things, was substantially the same as that under which Churches had been living for two or three generations before; and secondly, that this ministry of three orders, under either kind of head, the itinerant apostle, or the diocesan bishop, was something far above the level of any clever device of human policy.

CHAPTER V.

THE CHURCH AND THE EMPIRE: I. PERSECUTIONS AND APOLOGISTS, TO THE DEATH OF ST. POLYCARP.

E have seen the Church perfecting its organization within, to adapt it to the work that lay before it. We must now turn our attention to the Church's relation to the powers that were without. The relation of the Church to the Roman Empire has lately been made the subject of interesting studies by two English writers, Professor W. M. Ramsay, of the University of Aberdeen, *The Church in the Roman Empire before A. D. 170*, and an Oxford scholar, E. G. Hardy, *Christianity and the Roman Government*. Both agree that by the time of Domitian (A. D. 81–96) it was a settled policy of the Roman Emperors to treat *Christianity* as a crime. As to the time when this condition began to be, it seems best to follow Mr. Hardy's view, supported as it is by the great German scholar, Mommsen. This traces the establishment of such a policy to Nero. After the great fire of Rome, as we learn from the historian Tacitus, Nero, suspected of causing that awful disaster himself, tried to turn the current of popular feeling by charging the crime upon the Christian community. It would seem that

even in the eyes of the Roman judge the charge of incendiarism broke down utterly. But the testimony taken was made the foundation of a charge more dangerous by far,—hostility to mankind in general, in technical Latin, *odium generis humani.*

It has often been enquired under what law of the Roman Empire Christians could have been brought before the courts, and the imperial jealousy against secret societies and even against clubs and societies not understood to have any secret character, is much referred to. There was such a jealousy. We even find an emperor directing one of his provincial governors to refuse permission for the organizing of a fire-company in a large town. Men were not to be allowed to organize at all. Then there would be no seditious organizations. Yet organizations were very numerous in the Empire. There was some such craze for them as we see to-day. The imperial law made exceptions in favor of mutual benefit clubs, and rather especially in favor of burial clubs, and probably any Christian congregation could have made itself into such a society as Roman law would commonly license. Only the jealous law was so strict that when *any* society was suspected of having a treasonable character, it was easy to find an excuse for suppressing it. According to Hardy and Mommsen, however, Christians were not generally proceeded against under any law at all. Under the highly practical Roman system, whatever was held to be "dangerous to the State" came under what we may call the police jurisdiction of the magistrates, a jurisdiction reaching even to sentences of torture

and death, without the necessity of quoting any law at all.

"Hostility to mankind" was obviously a danger to the state. How could such a charge be plausibly maintained? Hardy gives five causes of popular or governmental dislike for Christians, any of which might help to give such an impression of the Christian character.

1. *Disinclination to marriage.* It is easy to exaggerate this. We must remember that St. Paul had condemned "forbidding to marry" as one of the false teachings that should trouble the Church in evil days. Yet the same St. Paul advised the Corinthians that in times of persecution and difficulty the unmarried were going to be far better off than those who had encumbered themselves with family cares, and certainly there must have been repeated refusals to make otherwise advantageous marriages into heathen families. One can see how the heathen families would feel. "Common humanity is not good enough for these people to intermarry with," they would say. "They despise and hate the world in which they dwell."

2. *Interference with family property.* Hardy seems to write as if community of goods like that of the Jerusalem Christians at the beginning (Acts iv. and v.) prevailed among Christians (1) generally and (2) for generations, both being suppositions contrary to fact. Even at Jerusalem it was not a law. What every man had was his own. Only it became a pretty general practice for men to give all that they had for the common need in a certain extraor-

dinary emergency. Still emergencies of special need came often. A rich man becoming the slave of Jesus Christ would feel that the Christian kingdom had immense claims on his property. Doubtless cases came up in which heathen relatives found the ties of blood disregarded, and great family properties wasted, as they would hold, in favor of a swarm of foreign parasites. Here again would come a cry, "These Christians learn to hate their own flesh and blood." Our Lord Himself said, "If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be My disciple" (St. Luke xiv. 26). It may well be imagined how an incautious quotation of such a saying before heathen hearers might give rise first to misunderstanding of the meaning, then to distortion of the words, and so to a telling piece of evidence as to the dark misanthropy of the new sect.

3. *Conscientious refusal to live like other people.* Christians could not illuminate their houses and put wreaths of flowers and green on their gates for a heathen festival. They could not accept offices under the government which included the performance of heathen religious rites. As to social life consciences differed. Some Christians felt that they could not go to weddings, to funerals, to ceremonies at a coming of age, in the houses of heathen friends. Others followed a rule to which even the severe Tertullian gave his sanction at the beginning of the third century. They could not go anywhere "to assist at a sacrifice," but they might go "to serve a

friend," even to a place where they knew that heathen rites would be. The *Letter to Diognetus*, an apologetic writing of the middle of the second century, claims that the Christians "are marked by no peculiar usages," but most heathen observers would have thought differently.

Perhaps it should be mentioned here that the Christians did take a very severe view of the heathen world and its probable fate. "Probable," indeed, was no word of theirs. Whosoever was not a Christian was certainly on the road to an everlasting hell. That was the idea of most Christians, and they took delight in the prospect. Zeal for souls as possible objects of salvation was common. Love of souls that seemed to be obstinately refusing salvation was rare. Many a Christian gave his heathen neighbors some justification for thinking him sour and hateful toward all that did not agree with him.

4. *Charges of witchcraft and abominable immorality.* Strange as it may seem to us, these were really widely believed. The secrecy of Christian rites gave much reason for the suspicion. In those horribly evil days what was secret generally *was* abominable. Then a few words caught up by listening slaves and other spies, about a certain mysterious eating of "flesh" and "blood," and probably the carrying of occasional infants to the places of Christian assembly, really for the innocent purpose of securing their Baptism, would be enough to condense the mist of suspicion into a bloody rain of accusations of cannibal feasts. Furthermore, the casting out of evil spirits, which had certainly been

known in the Apostolic Age, and was confidently claimed to be one of the Church's gifts in the next two centuries, would only confirm in a certain class of unbelievers the suspicion that the Christians were in league with powers of darkness. Once start in a heathen population the notion that Christians practised magic arts, and then so simple a matter as the Christians' habit of signing themselves with the sign of the cross on all manner of occasions would do much to feed the fear. It is noteworthy that the horrible punishments devised for Christians in Nero's persecution were exaggerations of those prescribed in Roman law for magicians. Accomplices in magical practices were to be thrown to wild beasts, or crucified, and magicians themselves were to be burned alive. Nero's martyrs were wrapped in skins of wild beasts and exposed to savage dogs, or smeared with pitch, and then fastened to crosses and set on fire.

5. *Supreme loyalty to a law outside the Roman law.* The Roman authorities cared more for this point than for all other allegations against Christianity together. Here was a body of people who openly professed that they served a God whose will was their supreme authority, and that if at any point the law of the Empire came into conflict with the law of their God, they should certainly obey their God and defy the Empire. Also they were zealous proselytizers, adding to their number daily, and rapidly enlarging this constant menace of treasonable example. Perhaps it is hard to realize the intensity of bitterness which this discovery created. It ought

to be very easy. Now and then in our own day controversialists grow excited, clever politicians work themselves into a frenzy, even powerful governments take alarm, lest the power of Roman Catholic principles over Roman Catholic consciences should prove dangerous to the State. It is felt that any government containing a large mass of citizens pledged beforehand to refuse obedience to laws which the government might conceivably find it desirable to enact, is a government in a condition of unstable equilibrium. That is true in theory, at least. Practically, the Roman government could have made the Church of Christ one of the strongest defenses of the Empire. Constantine, as first Christian Emperor, did so. But the suggestion that a certain group of people will in any circumstances set up a supposed higher law as a reason for refusing obedience to the law of the Civil State, is always irritating and too often maddening to rulers who have no conscience for anything higher than human law.[1]

From all these causes together Christianity was

[1] In 1888 the Legislature of the State of Kansas passed a form of "Prohibitory Law," omitting the usual exception allowing the use of wine for sacramental purposes. This was a direct attack on the conscience of all Christian persons who had not embraced the (so-called) Two Wine Theory, and more especially upon the Episcopalian and Roman Churches, which officially hold that "wine" means wine. If the politicians had not given way, there must have been a wide-spread persecution. Here is a clear case of a government impeded in legislation by obstructive consciences, but probably no one will maintain that the welfare of Kansas was seriously endangered by the presence of the consciences in question. Yet it is very common even to-day for men to maintain that no man can be a perfectly loyal citizen who acknowledges that if a law interfered with his conscience he would not obey that law.

unpopular in general society and regarded as a dangerous force by the authorities. Imperial policy, having come to hold the "hostility to mankind" theory at the beginning of our period, maintained it without official change to the end. Yet it should be noted that the conditions of the Church as a persecuted body varied from emperor to emperor, and even from season to season. The Roman government was immensely practical. In theory, Christianity was a thing to be crushed out. In practice, that would be hard to do, and it seemed quite enough to watch the course of things, and simply do something about the matter when there seemed to be particular indications that something needed to be done. To be a Christian was to be an outlaw. A Christian might be proceeded against *any* day. For that very reason it was not necessary to be doing it *every* day. In fact, the position of a Christian in the Roman Empire in the second or third century was curiously like that of a liquor-dealer in an American State which has a general Prohibitory Law, to-day. There is a powerful human instinct working against the law every moment. The officers of the law do not feel convinced that *absolute* enforcement of this regulation is either necessary or possible. They aim at keeping the thing within what seem to them as practical men "reasonable bounds." They have spasms of enforcement. They fall into long, neglectful torpors of non-enforcement. They do not theorize. They have no stern convictions. They despise the business and those who follow it, but their handling of it is dictated by policy at every turn. Just so

was Christianity regarded by the administrators of Roman law.

Of course, then, popular feeling had a great deal to do with the matter. Indeed, to a Roman magistrate there could hardly be a greater reason for proceeding against a suspected society than that it tended to stir the general population to acts of violence, or that there was found to be a general feeling that the government was dealing weakly with an acknowledged cause of offense. No matter whether the victims of mob violence deserved ill of their neighbors or not, mob violence was not a good thing to have in the community, and the hard-headed Roman policy did not care much for abstract justice. It was not going to give any license to conditions, even though innocent in themselves, which would probably lead to popular uprisings. And we may remind ourselves that the Roman magistracy did not believe that Christianity was a force innocent in itself.

As to the amount of danger from popular movements, in which Christians had to live, we may note two forces that specially worked against them, one pretty constant, the other highly variable. The constant cause was the hatred of the Jews. It varied little in its bitter watchfulness to do harm. The destruction of Jerusalem under Titus (A. D. 70) gave a great impulse to that extremity of ill-will, no doubt, and the flame may have been fanned higher by the second destruction, after the revolt of Bar Cochba (A. D. 132–5), when the Emperor Hadrian caused a new city named *Aelia Capitolina*, from his

own name, *Aelius*, to be built upon the sacred site, and enacted that no Jew should come within its gates. The more variable cause of popular outbreaks lay in the superstitions of heathendom. Floods, earthquakes, tornadoes, droughts, pestilences, crop-failures, hard times, all these were traceable to offended gods, and who so offensive to the gods as these Christians, who certainly worshipped none of the objects of their neighbors' fear, and were popularly understood to worship no god at all?

II. From the general survey of the relations between the Christian Kingdom and the great Empire of Rome, we turn to consider a little more in detail the actual working of the policy of persecution and the Church's endeavors in its own defense. Domitian (A. D. 81–96) seems to have been a persecuting emperor somewhat particularly. It was in this reign, according to Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, who would get his information from Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, who had known St. John personally, that the beloved disciple was an exile in the island of Patmos and saw the Revelation which taught the true meaning of this world's tragical history. The short reign of Nerva (A. D. 96–98) leaves no trace in our story. Out of the period of Trajan (A. D. 98–117), there emerges an interesting piece of history. Pliny the Younger, a cultivated Roman lawyer, is sent out to govern for the two years 111–113 the province of Bithynia-Pontus. In that province, where sixty years before St. Paul had been prevented from preaching the Gospel because he was more needed elsewhere (Acts xvi. 7), some lesser

founders had done a great work. The new governor had an anonymous paper presented to him, charging many persons with being Christians. Some denied it, and these supported their denial by worshipping images of heathen gods and a representation of the emperor,[1] and repeating heathen formulas at the governor's dictation. Others acknowledged themselves Christians, and showed such obstinacy of disrespect for the official view of their behavior as a crime, that Pliny ordered them off to execution, declaring that that alone was sufficient cause. Others still declared that they had been Christians once, but had long ceased to be, some even as much as twenty years before. Even these maintained that the worst that they had ever done was to meet before daylight on a fixed day, and sing antiphonally a hymn to Christ as God, binding themselves by an oath (*sacramento*) not to the commission of any crime, but simply not to be guilty of theft, robbery, or adultery, not to break a promise, nor keep back a pledge. Then they used to separate, and assemble again later for a common meal, in which, however, there was nothing out of the way. This last, they said, had been given up in consequence of an imperial edict about social clubs, an edict which Pliny himself had published not long before.

[1] As early as the reign of Domitian the Roman Emperor had allowed himself to be called divine, and to be made an object of worship as representing the *Genius* (the Guardian Spirit) of the empire. It came to be one of the most common tests of Christians to ask them to worship the image of the Emperor and to swear by the *Genius* of the Emperor. "*Per salutem Imperatoris*," "by the health and safety of the Emperor" they were willing to swear; by his *Genius*, they would not.

This is our first glimpse of Christian worship in the Post-Apostolic Age, a subject which must have a chapter to itself. What is to be noted now is that this new religion was found to have taken hold of all the cities of the district, and to have spread into the villages and even into the open country. The heathen temples had been left solitary, this Roman governor tells us, and their ceremonies had fallen into disuse. It was a very rare thing to find anybody buying animals for heathen sacrifices, so that the trade in that line was seriously impaired. No doubt, part of this evidence of changed conditions of belief was negative. Not all the people who had given up the heathen religions had taken up another religion instead, and so when Pliny tells us that now the temples were frequented again, and the trade in the materials of heathen worship reviving, we are not to suppose that all these newly interested persons were apostate Christians. But certain it is that of Christians there was a great company, and that Christianity had become so far a popular religion as to have its "mixed multitude" of followers, some of whom would in time of persecution fall away.

In such conditions Pliny takes advice. He has examined by torture two slave women such as the Christians call *ministræ*,—this must be Pliny's Latin for "deaconesses," though the Latin-speaking Church made for them later a title adapted from the Greek, *diaconissæ*,—and all he has found is "an offensive and irrational superstition." It seems plain that this Roman judge was inwardly convinced that the vul-

gar charges about Christian crimes were unfounded. Now he writes for instruction. Is he to make a difference between young and old, strong and weak? Is he to accept renunciation of Christianity without punishment for the past? Is he to punish Christians simply for being Christians, "for the name," on the ground that Christians are recognized evil doers, or only for particular misdeeds which they can be shown to have done?

The Emperor answers that no hard and fast rule can be made which will cover every case, but Pliny has done entirely right. Christians are not to be hunted up. An accused person who will purge himself by acts of heathen worship is to be pardoned, as on repentance, even though the judge may be convinced that he was a Christian formerly. Christians who are openly accused and convicted *must be punished.* That is, Christianity, though not an offense against any particular law, is still to be treated as a danger to Roman policy. But it need not be destroyed. To keep it down is enough. For the letter goes on to say that *anonymous* accusations are not to be attended to at all. "That is a very bad precedent, and contrary to the spirit of our age."

"This Edict," says the German writer, Uhlhorn, "has been regarded by some as a sword, and by others as a shield. Really, it was both." It is a forcible comment on the hard case of the Christians of the second century, that they seem to have regarded Trajan, who thus approved their slaughter, as a benevolent protector. Practically, to these unfortunate victims already classed as outlaws, this order

that nothing should be done to their hurt without a prosecutor ready to take the responsibility of appearing openly against them, was of inestimable value. Under this reign hundreds must have perished, it would seem, in Bithynia-Pontus, and holy Ignatius was thrown to the beasts at Rome, yet later in the century men looked back to it as to a time of imperial favor. It is not to be set down as a mere blunder of theirs. It was but the exaggeration of a fact. Trajan held the common view of Christians, but considering what that view was, he held it mercifully.

In the next reign, that of Hadrian, Christianity made a clear step forward. It began to speak for itself. The date of this new beginning is not without significance. It was just after getting its ministry settled in the form which it was to hold without any substantial change for ages,—the development of the Mediæval Papacy *was* a substantial change, but that cannot fairly be dated earlier than the time of the "Forged Decretals," the middle of the ninth century,—that the Church first set itself to the great work of explaining and defending itself to the surrounding world. Not that the Church was just now waking up to the idea of its duty to convert the world. Far from it. Not only the spirit of salvation and self-sacrifice, which is the spirit of every deeply converted soul, but the very spirit of selfishness and self-preservation, would dictate to every man who gave himself to the Christian Kingdom a sense of the necessity of laboring for the Kingdom's growth. They that had embraced the hope of the

Gospel were but a little handful everywhere, misconceived, disliked, suspected, threatened, persecuted. They must convert their swarming foes into friends and fellow laborers, or to all human foresight they must perish. That had been felt, no doubt, from the very first. Whether in self-sacrifice, or in self-interest, Christians had been scattering good seed as well as they knew how. But certainly with the completion of its organization, the Church began to present its cause before the world in a new way. It began to write books. It began to explain and argue its case in a literary form. Hitherto the missionary work of the Church had been a work of individuals upon individuals. Now it began to be the appeal of an organization to a community. It may be supposed that the newly established Diocesan Episcopacy gave the Church a deeper sense of its own strength. A strong organization does produce such an effect. At the same time the rising strength of this strange sect called "Christians" had certainly begun to make a serious impression upon the heathen world. Christianity was just grown to the point of putting forward representatives and champions. Heathenism was just beginning to be ready to listen, not with any intellectual respect at first, but with the attention due to a movement large enough to be a danger. Hence the second century came to be preëminently an Age of Apologists, as the technical phrase is, of writers maintaining the Christian Revelation and the Christian Kingdom against the opposition of heathen and Jew.

We have reckoned the transition from the Apos-

tolic to the Post-Apostolic Age as covering roundly the years 75–125. In that last year precisely, it would seem, a political event, a visit of the Emperor Hadrian to Athens, called out the first two writings of this class, the Apologies of *Quadratus* and *Aristides*. Of Quadratus almost nothing is known. There was a bishop of Athens of that name at a later time, but it could not have been this one. On the other hand, Eusebius, who seems to have regarded the writing of this book as an important turning-point in the Church's history, for he finds room for it in his very meagre *Chronicle*, besides giving it the first among events of the reign of Hadrian in his *History*, mentions Quadratus without any descriptive addition, as if he were either a man already introduced, or one of whom he could find nothing more to tell. If this *is* the same Quadratus whom Eusebius has named before, he is a man who in the days of Ignatius of Antioch was reckoned among the glories of the Church in Asia Minor, being "renowned along with the daughters of Philip[1] for prophetical gifts." He is mentioned in one place in Eusebius in connection with a prophetess, Ammia, who lived in Philadelphia, but we have no clear indication of his own place of residence. It would be pleasant to think that just when the prophetical gift was beginning to be withdrawn from the Church, and was already rare, it was used in one of its last outpourings to lead the way into a new line of Christian activity,

[1] Eusebius has Philip the Evangelist in his mind, and the passage Acts xxi. 8. He seems to have confounded this Philip, the deacon, with Philip the Apostle. The Philip here named ended his days in Hierapolis.

and give the first example which the Christian evidence-writers of all the ages should follow. Certainly, if our Quadratus was a man that lived somewhere in the neighborhood of Ephesus, he could easily have crossed the Ægean sea to Athens, to meet the great Emperor and present his appeal to him. This is only a guess, it may be said, but it is a highly probable guess, and rather illuminating.

Two things Eusebius tells us distinctly, that Quadratus wrote this appeal because evil men were trying to raise persecution against the Christians,—it was, apparently, a popular, rather than an official movement,—and that he had been a hearer of the Apostles. The only passage of his Apology now known is one which Eusebius quotes as showing how early in Christian history the writer must have lived.

"But the works of our Saviour were always present,[1] for they were genuine,—the people healed, and the people raised from the dead, who were seen not only when they were healed, and when they were raised, but were also always in evidence. And not merely while the Saviour was on earth, but also after His death, they were alive for a considerable time, so that some of them lived even to our day."

Quadratus, then, is the father of the historical method in Christian Evidences. He appeals to facts as witnesses to the presence of a power sufficient to cause them, and very probably it was the appeal of the man of simple common sense. Aristides, on the other hand, was an Athenian philosopher, a man of

[1] He seems to mean that they lasted, unlike the tricks of magicians, and could be examined long after.

trained mind, accustomed to metaphysical subtleties. His defense of Christianity was likely to take another turn, commending it as the first successful answer to the soul's questions about life. It is noteworthy that Eusebius, working with the historian's instinct uppermost, quotes nothing whatever from this, the second of the Christian Apologists, and for centuries it was supposed that his book was utterly lost. It has lately been very fully restored, and the story of its recovery is one of the romances of Christian literature. A few years since a fragment of an Armenian version was found in a Venetian monastery of studious Armenian monks, who published a Latin translation of their treasure in 1878. Eleven years later Professor J. Rendel Harris had the satisfaction of finding a Syriac version of the whole Apology in that famous Convent of St. Catharine, on Mount Sinai, where the Sinaitic Codex of the New Testament and other important manuscripts have been brought to light. Then came the romantic surprise. It had long been known that in the eighth century a Christian writer had produced an extraordinary fiction, "The Story of Barlaam and Josaphat," founded on the traditions that circulated in India concerning the wonderful life of Gautama Buddha. In the Christian, as in the Hindu, story we have a king's son brought up in great seclusion and in great luxury, yet longing to know the world in which he lives, and presently discovering its cruel misery. In each story the young prince gives up luxury and splendor and retires into a monastic solitude to practise ascetic rigors. But with a holy

boldness the Christian story turns the founder of Buddhism into a Christian convert and devotee, humbly learning lessons of true religion from a Christian monk, Barlaam, who encounters him in the wilderness of his self-banishment. The king hears of his son's conversion, recalls him to the court, and orders a public disputation to be held, to restore the wanderer to a better mind. Barlaam is to be represented by a non-Christian substitute, who has orders to be sure to make a weak defense. The day arrives, and the false monk, Nachor, presents an argument so noble that king and court and people, and the unwilling orator himself, are converted by it to the Christian religion.

The rest of the story may be passed over. Its interest for us lies in the fact that in this story of *Barlaam and Josaphat*, translated into Æthiopic, Arabic, Hebrew, and Armenian in the East, and into nearly every language of the West, and made even into a mediæval English poem, has been preserved through the centuries, though for centuries no man suspected it, the lost *Apology* of Aristides of Athens, put into the mouth of a Hindu sage. The eighth century novelist could find no written argument for Christianity which seemed to him more worthy to be represented as an utterance dictated by supernatural power.

"I, O King," says the philosopher, "by the grace of God came into this world, and when I had considered the heaven and the earth and the seas, and had surveyed the sun and the rest of the creation, I marvelled at the beauty of the world. And I perceived that the

world and all that is therein are moved by the power of another, and I understood that he who moves them is God, who is hidden in them and veiled by them. And it is manifest that that which causes motion is more powerful than that which is moved. But that I should make search concerning this same Mover of all, as to what is His nature, for it seems to me, He is indeed unsearchable in His nature, and that I should argue as to the constancy of His government, so as to grasp it fully,—this is a vain effort for me; for it is not possible that a man should fully comprehend it. I say, however, concerning this Mover of the world, that He is God of all, who made all things for the sake of mankind. And it seems to me that this is reasonable, that one should fear God, and should not oppress man.

"I say, then, that God is not born, not made, an ever-abiding Nature, without beginning and without end, immortal, perfect, and incomprehensible. Now when I say that He is perfect, this means that there is not in Him any defect, and that He is not in need of anything, but all things are in need of Him. And when I say that He is without beginning, this means that everything which has beginning has also an end, and that which has an end may be brought to an end. He has no name, for everything which has a name is kindred to things created. Form He has none, nor yet any union of members, for whatsoever possesses these is kindred to things fashioned. He is neither male nor female. The heavens do not limit Him, but the heavens and all things, visible and invisible, receive their bounds from Him. Ad-

versary He has none, for there exists not any stronger than He. Wrath and indignation He possesses not, for there is nothing which is able to stand against Him. Ignorance and forgetfulness are not in His nature, for He is altogether wisdom and understanding, and in Him stands fast all that exists. He requires not sacrifice and libation, nor any single thing that is seen. He requires not aught from any, but all living creatures stand in need of Him."

This is a fine beginning, notably fine in its freedom from the bondage of the *letter* of the religion which it defends. It says that God has no name, though He has condescended to name Himself as Jehovah, and even to wear the lowlier name of Jesus. It says that God has no indignation, no wrath, when God's own Word many times ascribes both to Him. It says that God requires no sacrifice, nor any visible thing, when every Christian held himself under a strict law to pay to God a visible worship, and in particular to offer to Him something which every Christian called a "sacrifice" on the first day of every recurring week. Yet in every case what Aristides meant was true, and his manly recognition that human words must be used with a breadth that will look like inconsistency, in order to cover the truth of a great universe and an infinite God, is really splendid. Only such broad denials must be read with care, so that we shall not bring Aristides as a witness to prove that some Christians did not believe this or that, which no Christian of those days ever thought of denying.

The *Apology* goes on to divide the world's popula-

tion into four groups,—Barbarians, Greeks, Jews, and Christians, "Barbarians" and "Greeks" being evidently a Greek writer's technical terms for people outside of the Roman Empire, and people inside of that great organism, respectively. The religious ideas of each of these four classes are examined. The barbarian notions of gods many and lords many are shown to be shamefully foolish, and the Greek notions shamefully immoral. The gods and goddesses of the Greek and Roman mythology had every kind of vice and crime ascribed to them, and Aristides breaks out in a fine piece of declamation,—"For behold! when the Greeks made laws, they did not perceive that by their laws they condemn their gods. For if their laws are righteous, their gods are unrighteous." The Jews are taken up in turn, and a little unfairly dealt with. Evidently the bitterness toward them as dangerous stirrers up of persecution had made it impossible for the philosopher to be perfectly philosophical. Then comes the positive statement of what Christians are like. There is but little about their doctrine. That was a pearl not to be cast before a heathen hearer, who might be swinish in his treatment of it. But from the glowing account of what Christians were in life, it is worth while to read this extract:

"They know and trust in God, the Creator of heaven and earth, in whom and from whom are all things, to whom there is no other god as companion, from whom they received commandments which they engraved upon their minds, and observe in hope and expectation of the world which is to come. Where-

fore they do not commit adultery, nor fornication, nor bear false witness, nor embezzle what is held in pledge, nor covet what is not theirs. They honor father and mother, and show kindness to those near to them, and whenever they are judges, they judge uprightly. They do not worship idols made in the image of man, and whatsoever they would not that others should do unto them, they do not to others, and of the food which is consecrated to idols they do not eat, for they are pure. And their oppressors they treat with kindness, and make them their friends; they do good to their enemies. And their women, O King, are pure as virgins, and their daughters are modest. And their men keep themselves from every unlawful union and from all uncleanness, in the hope of a recompense to come in the other world. Further, if one or other of them have bondmen and bondwomen or children, through love toward them they persuade them to become Christians, and when they have done so, they call them brethren without distinction. They do not worship strange gods, and they go their way in all modesty and cheerfulness. Falsehood is not found among them, and they love one another, and from widows they do not turn away their esteem, and they deliver the orphan from him who treats him harshly. And he who has gives to him who has not without boasting.[1] And when they see a stranger, they take

[1] Compare the following from the next chapter of the *Apology*: "And they do not proclaim in the ears of the multitude the kind deeds they do, but are careful that no one should notice them; and they conceal their giving just like one who finds a treasure and conceals it." Church fairs were not then invented!

him into their homes, and rejoice over him as a very brother; for they do not call them brethren after the flesh, but brethren after the spirit and in God. And whenever one of their poor passes from the world, each one of them, according to his ability, gives heed to him, and carefully sees to his burial. And if they hear that one of their number is imprisoned, or afflicted, on account of the name of their Messiah, all of them anxiously minister to his necessity, and if it is possible to redeem him, they set him free. And if there is among them any that is poor and needy, and they have no spare food, they fast two or three days, in order to supply to the needy their lack of food. They observe the precepts of their Messiah with much care, living justly and soberly, as the Lord their God commanded them. Every morning and every hour, they give thanks and praise to God for His loving kindnesses toward them, and for their food and for their drink they offer thanksgiving to Him. And if any righteous man among them passes from the world, they rejoice and offer thanks to God, and they escort his body as if he were setting out from one place to another near. And when a child has been born to one of them, they give thanks to God, and if, furthermore, it happen to die in childhood, they give thanks to God the more, as for one who has passed through the world without sins. And further, if they see that any one of them dies in his ungodliness, or in his sins, for him they grieve bitterly, and sorrow as for one who goes to meet his doom."

Excellently said, and the facts were better than

the words. But neither the appeal of plain common sense to the testimony of the people that had had personal experience of the miracles of Jesus Christ, nor yet the appeal of the philosopher to the better instincts of humanity, accomplished any considerable result. In matters touching religion, even more than in others, reason contending with prejudice always loses the first battle, and the second, and the third. It must go to Valley Forge before it can open the road to Yorktown. A rescript sent by Hadrian to the Proconsul Minucius Fundanus, governor of the Roman province of Asia (the western strip, it may be remembered, of what we call Asia Minor), seems to be the measure of the effect produced on the Emperor's mind by appeals in behalf of his Christian subjects. The genuineness of this rescript has been much questioned, but it is defended most confidently by such scholars as Lightfoot and Mommsen, and they seem to have proved their case. The imperial letter runs thus:

"I have received the letter sent me by your distinguished predecessor, Serenus [1] Granianus, and I am unwilling to pass over his report without reply, for fear that innocent persons may be subjected to attack, and opportunity given to false accusers to despoil them. If therefore, the people of your province are plainly anxious to support these complaints of theirs against the Christians by presenting formal charges against them on any point before your judgment seat, do not forbid them to pursue this course. But I will not allow them in this matter to resort to

[1] The name is so given in our copies. It should be *Silvanus*.

mere passionate appeals and outcries. For it is far more just, that if any person is ready to file an indictment, you give a formal hearing.

"Accordingly, if any person files an indictment, and proves that the people above-mentioned are committing any violation of law, you are to decree penalties in proportion to the deserts of the offenders. But the point you are to give most especial heed to is, if any person wittingly prefers false charges against any one of these people, to punish the accuser more severely in consideration of his flagrant wickedness."

Plainly there had been a popular movement against Christians in the province of Asia, and an attempt to make Trajan's rule of procedure mean that any person, or a promiscuous crowd, might charge a man with being a Christian, and leave it to the court to apply tests and find out whether it was true. Hadrian seems to have made one advance upon Trajan's policy. The court is not called upon to make a Christian testify against himself. There must be an accuser armed with proofs of some offense against the law, and if he fails in his attempted proof, he is liable to severe punishment for attempted defamation of character. But does Hadrian mean to affirm, or to reverse, his predecessor's distinct affirmation that a man must be punished as an evil doer, if proved to be a Christian? That we cannot tell. Apparently, he was intentionally ambiguous. He said that an offense against the law must be proved. There was technically no law against a man's being a Christian. Yet to refuse to worship the Emperor's image was constructive trea-

son, and a Christian would refuse to pay such worship, if tried. It seems as if Hadrian, somewhat more even than Trajan, discouraged habitual persecution, and yet no Christian's life was safe before a judge with a personal leaning to severity. However much certain later traditions which ascribe many martyrdoms to this reign may be discounted, it is certain that just in its last years, at Rome itself, the imperial city, the bishop of that Church, Telesphorus, suffered for Christ's sake, and sealed the glorious promise of his name.[1]

The reigns of Antoninus Pius (138–161) and Marcus Aurelius (161–180) seem to have been marked by a deepening severity against the Christian name. Both were exceptionally worthy men, Marcus especially being one of the noblest Romans in the whole history of the decaying empire; but just because they took life with a conscientious seriousness, they were less tolerant than a man of "practical politics," like Trajan, or a frivolous sceptic, like Hadrian. It is true that Antoninus wrote letters to certain "Greek cities,"—the expression is probably to be taken as including Smyrna and other leading cities of Asia Minor, which prided themselves on their Greek origin,—to prohibit sharply any "revolutionary proceedings" against the Christians, that is, popular uprisings not following the established forms of law; but it is abundantly clear that in his time the mere fact of being shown to be a Christian was quite enough to condemn a man to

[1] *Telesphorus* means in Greek "one that brings his work to a full end," "one that brings fruit to perfection."

death, and in the days of the high-minded philosopher, Marcus, every feature of protection was taken away, Christians were carefully sought out for punishment, rewards were given to informers against them, and the only restraint upon persecution was that it must be a matter of legal procedure, and not of mob rule.

The martyrdom of Publius, a bishop of Athens, belongs probably to the reign of Antoninus, and is likely to have been the outcome of one of those very commotions which drew out his rescript addressed to the Greek cities. A more conspicuous example of this government by popular clamor is found in the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna.

We have seen this bishop before, entertaining the prisoner, Ignatius, on his road to martyrdom, receiving later a letter from him, and writing himself to the Church at Philippi. The friend of Ignatius, the pupil of St. John, the teacher in turn of the great teacher, Irenæus, who a generation later was a chief defender of the Church's faith as a secure tradition from Jesus Christ the Son of God, Polycarp is the most important figure in Christian history in this middle portion of the second century, and one of the most important in Christian history generally. It is not departing far from the subject of the Church's persecutions and the Church's self-defense, to point out how this heroic figure stands for the security of our faith in that Christian faith for which he died. His pupil, Irenæus, records that he was made Bishop of Smyrna "by the Apostles." The plural number is hardly to be pressed, but the

meaning certainly includes St. John, whose pupil Polycarp is expressly declared to have been.[1] Polycarp, then, not only received from St. John, the Apostle, the Gospel as St. John received and understood and preached it, but was himself a specially trusted representative of St. John in the carrying on of that Gospel into the second century. Of Polycarp, in turn, we have in Irenæus not only a pupil, but a devoted friend and follower, and it is Irenæus who more than any other man stands forward as the spokesman of the Church against the forces of heresy and division in the closing years of that same second century, one hundred and fifty years after the Saviour's death and the consequent birth of the Christian Kingdom. It is claimed sometimes, by people not very familiar with the facts, that in some obscure passageway in the course of time the pure Gospel of Jesus of Nazareth was corrupted into a sacramental, sacerdotal ecclesiasticism, of the earth, earthy. The only possible place to which such a revolution may be assigned is covered by the testimony of Polycarp, and of Polycarp's greatest pupil, that their Gospel

[1] There is not a little reason for thinking that Polycarp was the "angel of the Church of Smyrna," to whom that great message was sent, "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life" (Rev. ii. 10). If that message, curiously inappropriate, by the way, for an angel of the heavenly and deathless order,—was really sent, as Irenæus expressly says that it was, "in the time of Domitian,"—and how *could* Irenæus have failed to get information on such a point from Polycarp and *get it right?*—then it is possible, indeed, that the chief leader of the Church of Smyrna suffered in that very "tribulation" which was then impending, and that Polycarp succeeded him. But "faithful unto death" gathers force wonderfully if regarded as a prophetic message to one who was to be exposed to danger and difficulty for nearly sixty years more.

was the Gospel of the first Apostles, and that was the one reason why they could feel sure that it was sure. For us the importance of Polycarp in history is that he is our chief, conspicuous witness at the most critical juncture, that the Gospel of the Catholic Church is the Gospel of her Lord and Saviour. But we must return to the martyrdom.

The "General Assembly of Asia" (in Latin, *Commune Asiæ*) was a body of representatives of the principal cities of that province, which met once a year from city to city to attend to certain responsibilities of local self-government, and held once in four years solemn religious exercises in futherance of the new *cultus*, in which Asia Minor seems to have been in every way first, the worship of the Emperor. The chief priest of these rites was called the Asiarch, and as we know that in February, A. D. 155, the Asiarch of that time, Philip of Tralles, was giving a public exhibition of games and wild beast shows at Smyrna, it seems likely that this assembly was then in a quadriennial session. We can imagine that the spirit of loyalty to Roman institutions and of hatred to the Christians as supposed to be disloyal, was at fever heat. The Proconsul, Statius Quadratus, the Roman governor of the province, was present, but apparently as a guest only, and not to hold court in any regular fashion. Eleven Christians already condemned to death from the neighboring city of Philadelphia suffered by torture and by exposure to wild beasts. "When they were so torn by lashes that the mechanism of their flesh was revealed, even as far as the veins and arteries,"

—so says the letter of the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philomelium, to which we owe this story of Polycarp's good end,—"they endured patiently, so that the very bystanders had pity and wept; while they themselves reached such a pitch of bravery that none of them uttered a cry or a groan, thus showing to us all that at that hour the martyrs of Christ, being tortured, were absent from the flesh, or rather that the Lord was standing by and conversing with them. And giving heed unto the grace of Christ, they despised the tortures of this world, purchasing at the cost of one hour a release from eternal punishment." On the other hand, a self-confident soul who had persuaded himself and some others to seek death by self-denunciation, was so terrified at the sight of the wild beasts that he was persuaded to swear the heathen oath and offer the heathen sacrifice demanded of him. "For this cause, therefore, brethren," says the letter, with a noble self-restraint, "we praise not those who deliver themselves up, for the Gospel doth not so teach us."

From the throng that filled the amphitheatre, whether maddened by the constancy of some, or made hopeful by the weakness of others, we cannot say, there arose a great outcry,—"Away with the atheists! Let search be made for Polycarp!" "The marvellous Polycarp," as the letter calls him, had had warning that his life was threatened, and he had wished to face the danger, but his friends had begged him to leave the city. He withdrew to a neighboring farm with a few companions and spent all his time in prayer, "praying for all men and for

all the Churches throughout the world; for this was his constant habit." Three days before his arrest, he fell into a trance and saw his pillow burning. From that time he was sure that he was to be burned alive. A force of police and soldiers was sent after him. He had escaped to another farm, but two of his slaves were arrested and put to torture,—slavery was not going to be felt by any Christians to be unchristian for some centuries yet,—and one betrayed his master. The letter begins to dwell on points of likeness to another death. "It was impossible that he should be hid," it says, "when they that betrayed him were *of his own household*,"—a reminiscence of St. Matt. x. 36. He could have escaped once more, but he would not. He was sure that the final end must be. "Let the will of God be done," he said. When he heard that his pursuers were come, he came down from his room and talked with them, and men wondered at his age and his firmness. The old man ordered a table to be spread for his captors, —probably they had had a long night ride, and were tired and hungry,—and asked one favor on their part, an hour in which to pray. "On their consenting, he stood up and prayed, being so full of the grace of God that for two hours he could not hold his peace, and those that heard were amazed, and many repented that they had come against such a venerable old man." It is noted that his prayer was not all for himself. All that we are told of it, indeed, is that he remembered "all who at any time had come in his way, small and great, high and low, and the whole Catholic Church throughout the

world. Then he was ready to depart. They had come out against him *as against a robber*, it is noted, and now they set him *on an ass* to go to his triumph. It was noted further, with a grim satisfaction, that the high sheriff was *Herod*, and Christians said one to another that the betrayer would suffer the punishment of *Judas*.

As the little procession was going toward the city, the Irenarch, Herod, whose title Lightfoot tries to render by the two suggestions of "Chief of Police" and "High Sheriff," came out to meet them, with his father, Nicetes, riding in a stately carriage. Nicetes and Herod are described as "father and brother of Alce," evidently a woman well known in Christian circles. Is she the same Alce to whom Ignatius had sent a special greeting some forty years before? Certainly the father of a woman who had had such prominence so long before, must have been a very aged man, one of the very few who could appeal to Polycarp by that power of a common memory of early days which is so great a power with the very old. Well, they took the old bishop into their chariot and were kind to him, and begged him to be reasonable, and say that "Cæsar is Lord," and some other little innocent concessions. At first he would not answer. Then he said, "I will not do what you advise me," and they were so angry that they turned him out of their coach in rude haste, and made him bruise his shin in getting down. So he went on to the stadium.

When he entered there, the noise was so great that it was hard to distinguish anything, but many

Christians heard a great voice saying, "Be strong, Polycarp, and play the man." It was set down as a voice from heaven. More probably it was the utterance of some zealous Christian in the upper seats among the poor, where the disposition to help the police is not apt to be the greatest. It may be said without irreverence that Polycarp needed no heavenly voice to raise his courage, that he had not heard already long before. The Proconsul tried to get him to save himself. "Swear by the Genius of Cæsar," he said; "Repent, and say, 'Away with the atheists!'" But Polycarp would make no more answer than to wave his hand toward the throng of lawless heathen in the stadium, and say solemnly, "Away with the atheists." "Swear the oath, and I will release thee; revile the Christ," urged the magistrate. "Eighty and six years have I been His servant," was the answer, "and He hath done me no wrong. How then can I blaspheme my King who saved me?" [1] This course of fruitless persuasion and firm refusal seems to have gone on some time before the Proconsul would acknowledge himself beaten by his prisoner's obstinacy. Then a herald made pro-

[1] How old was Polycarp? His "eighty and six years" must be reckoned from his conscious acceptance of the yoke of Christ's service, or (possibly) from his baptism in infant years. No Christian of the second century would have thought of reckoning his service of Christ from his natural birth. His age, then, may have been a little over eighty-six, or about a hundred. In favor of the lesser age, Lightfoot argues that Polycarp was not too old to make a journey to Rome the year before. In favor of the other view is the fact that his age is referred to as something amazing, and perhaps a greater naturalness in the use of words. "I have served" seems more likely to mean "I have consciously given myself to serving." In that case Polycarp's birth must be dated about A. D. 55, or not later than 60.

clamation through the stadium thrice,—"Polycarp hath confessed himself to be a Christian!"

At this the multitude raised a great cry, "This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the puller down of our gods, who teacheth numbers not to sacrifice nor worship," and "with ungovernable anger" they demanded that he be thrown to the lions. The Asiarch protested that he could not give the order: the games were officially closed. Forthwith the multitude demanded that the martyr be burned alive. Jews, the most bitter of all Christian-haters, abounded in Smyrna. Under their leadership crowds of people from the audience rushed out to gather from baths and workshops stores of wood to make the funeral pile. The aged bishop removed his outer garments and stooped to take off his shoes, but it was hard work. He had not had to do such a thing for years, so tenderly had he been cared for. Even before he was old, the faithful had vied with one another, who should be first to touch him, so great had been his reputation for holiness. Men came to nail him to the stake, but he begged them not. The Lord would give him power to stand firm without such mean security. They tied him, therefore, and then, when he had prayed and given thanks for the privilege of martyrdom, they set the fire. It was not God's will that this should be the manner of his dying. A breeze drove the flames from him, causing them to eddy round him like a bellying sail. The spectacle proved disappointing, and the executioner was ordered to go up and stab the saint with a dagger. It was done, and the Christians noted

with triumph that the pouring stream of the martyr's blood extinguished the flame that had been kindled for him.

There remained one more trial of Christian feeling. The same Nicetes whom we have seen endeavoring to persuade Polycarp to apostatize, was now put forward by the Jews to beg that the body might not be given to Christian keeping, "lest they should abandon the Crucified One, and begin to worship this man." "Not knowing," says the letter of the Church of Smyrna, "Not knowing that it will be impossible for us either to forsake at any time the Christ who suffered for the salvation of the whole world of those that are saved,—suffered, though faultless, for sinners,—nor to worship any other. For Him, being the Son of God, we adore, but the martyrs, as disciples and imitators of the Lord, we cherish (as they deserve) for their matchless affection toward their own King and Teacher. May it be our lot also to be found partakers and fellow disciples with them!" So the body was burned, and only after that were the Christians permitted to gather up the bones "more valuable than precious stones and finer than refined gold," and lay them in a suitable place, where they promised themselves that they would come together once a year, "in gladness and joy, and to celebrate the birthday"—so they called it—"of his martyrdom."

CHAPTER VI.

THE CHURCH AND THE EMPIRE: II. PERSECUTIONS AND APOLOGISTS, FROM THE DEATH OF ST. POLYCARP TO THE ACCESSION OF COMMODUS.

UCH a death as Polycarp's, and the deaths of those eleven sufferers who had just preceded him in the same arena, constituted a powerful *Apologia* for the Christian cause. "I myself, too," said the greatest Christian thinker of those days, describing the period before his conversion,—"I myself, too, when I was delighting in the doctrines of Plato, and heard the Christians slandered, and saw them fearless of death, and of all other things which are counted fearful, perceived that it was impossible that they could be living in wicked self-indulgence" (Justin Martyr *Second Apology* xii.). Thus the martyrs raised up apologists in turn, and these with pen more mighty than the persecutor's sword urged on the work of conviction of the truth. The chief representative of the apologist by argument is the writer whom we have just quoted, Justin, the philosopher, who also sealed his testimony with his blood, and has been known in all ages since as *Justin Martyr*. He is thus the only one of all the old-time sufferers who never appears without his crown. The honor is well deserved.

It is an interesting fact about this eminent de-

fender of the faith that he was "a good Samaritan." Born at Flavia Neapolis, a new town built up near the ruins of the ancient Shechem and named for the Emperor Vespasian (*Flavius Vespasianus*), who settled a colony of his old soldiers there after the Jewish war, Justin speaks of "my race, the Samaritans," in a way that certainly seems to identify him with that strange race as one of their blood. Yet his grandfather's name, Bacchius, is Greek, his father's, Priscus, is Latin, as is his own, and his education would seem to have been wholly Grecian and unmixedly heathen as well. We may guess that the grandfather was a soldier of Vespasian, that he married a woman of Samaritan family, and that he named his son for some Roman officer under whom he had served, and brought him up to be as much like a Roman as he could. Then if this son married a wife who represented Greek or Roman traditions, the young Justin would receive no educational influences from his Samaritan ancestry, and would never feel interested in it till he had become a convert to Christianity and a student of the Old Testament. Intellectually ambitious, and, it would seem, sufficiently well off to give all his time to travel and study, the young man devoted himself to the learning of his day, which consisted largely in so-called philosophic speculations with almost no foundation. Every school made its own guesses as to the origin of the universe, the destiny of man, the true wisdom in the conduct of life. When Justin represents himself as having gone to four teachers in succession, a Stoic, who could tell him nothing about

God, and thought that there was nothing worth knowing in that direction, a Peripatetic, who wanted regular pay for his teaching, so that it might be profitable to both teacher and taught,—Justin was much disgusted with *him*,—a Pythagorean, who could not undertake to teach him anything, until he should first have become proficient in music and geometry and astronomy, and finally a Platonist, who for a while really satisfied his craving for noble thoughts, he may, of course, be giving us an imaginary history, intended to suggest how unsatisfactory all other teachings would be found to be in comparison with Christianity, but more probably it is the simple truth. Many such a man must probably have gone the round of the heathen philosophers, not finding the best till the last, and then had Justin's experience of finding something better still.

This Samaritan who had never heard of Moses, and knew nothing of his people's traditions, ascribes his conversion to a providential meeting with an old man who found him walking near the sea—this could not have been at Flavia Neapolis. Perhaps it may have been at Ephesus, where Eusebius tells us that Justin was once resident,—and drew him into talk in which the stranger showed Justin that Platonism was not as full an answer to the soul's questions as he had thought, and introduced him to the study of the Old Testament prophets as witnesses to the religion of Jesus Christ. Already, as we have seen, Justin had come to feel that Christians must be men who took life seriously. These could not be men given up to vicious self-indulgence, who would en-

dure tortures and death rather than go through a mere verbal form of denying their Christ and promising to forsake their religion. A set of cannibals and debauchees, such as Christians were very commonly believed to be, would, of course, take any number of oaths to save their lives, and go home and break them with equal facility. So much Justin had felt already. Now he found, to his own amazement, that this despised Christianity was the one great satisfying philosophy of the world and life. As such he embraced it, as such he began diligently to teach it. He seems to have done so for a term of years at Ephesus. Then he came, wearing still the philosopher's cloak, the badge of a professional teacher of the higher subjects,—the forerunner, if it be not indeed the first form, of the academic gown of mediæval universities and of some modern pulpits,—and opened a school at Rome.

A "good Samaritan" our philosopher proved himself to be, in that when his brethren were in distress, he would not withhold himself from going to their help. The deepening danger of Christians under Antoninus was to him only a more pressing reason for coming forward openly in their defense. To Antoninus Pius, therefore, and to the future Emperor, Marcus Aurelius, already associated in the government of the empire, Justin presented two Apologies, the second, however, being only a sort of postscript to the first. There is a splendid boldness in them which leaves one wondering whether the writer went into hiding, like Jeremiah of old, while another person put his book into the ruler's hand.

In form his address is a petition in his own name to the Emperor, to his associate Cæsars, and to the Senate and People of Rome,—the argument was probably aimed to win converts from the people even more than to secure justice from the ruler,—"in behalf of those of all nations who are unjustly hated and wantonly abused, myself being one of them." The Emperor is reminded of his title of *Pius*. "Do ye who are called pious and philosophers, guardians of justice and lovers of learning, give good heed and hearken to my address; and if ye are indeed such, ye will show it." "We reckon that no evil can be done us, unless we be convicted as evil doers." "You can kill, but you cannot hurt us." "Rulers who prefer prejudice to truth have only the power of robbers in a desert." Such is Justin's defiant answer to the imperial ruling that simply to be a Christian is enough to constitute a capital offense. That the name should be a condemnation in itself, pleads Justin, (*Apol.* iii.), is manifestly unfair. Indeed, the name ought to suggest that these are a most excellent people. He refers to a confusion that the heathen were always making between *Christus* and *chrestus*, the latter being the Greek word for a kindly, pleasant-tempered soul, with a touch of contempt in it, however, as in our use of the word "easy-going," from which the New Testament use was just beginning to raise it. It is doubtful how far it was a wise argument for Justin to use. Certainly many of his heathen neighbors were unready as yet to admire a man for being

chrestus. It is Christ who has taught men that a kind heart is an ornament of a great soul.

Secondly, Justin disposes (*Apol.* vi.) of the charge of atheism. The early Christians were divided in opinion about the heathen gods, whether they were evil spirits, or dead men about whose memory lying legends had grown up, or finally, mere names with no real existence whatever back of them. Justin adopts the first view warmly. "All the gods of the heathen are demons," he read in his Greek version of Ps. xcvi. 5, where we have more correctly, "are but idols." "We confess," he says, "that we are atheists as far as gods of this kind are concerned, but not with respect to the most true God, the Father of righteousness and temperance and the other virtues, who is free from all impurity.[1] But both Him and the Son who came forth from Him and taught us these things, and the host of the other good angels, who follow and are made like to Him, and the prophetic Spirit, we worship and adore, knowing them in reason and truth, and declaring without grudging to every one who wishes to learn, as we have been taught."[2]

[1] We must remember that almost every heathen god had his legends of such moral vileness as could be not be told in these pages. Men like Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius had a vague idea of a passionless Supreme Being somewhere back of all the powers of the universe, but that unknown force received no worship and was not regarded as having any feeling about the world or men.

[2] That Justin should speak here of Christians as worshipping and adoring angels, has greatly scandalized many good people. Fearful and wonderful are the attempts of critics to translate his sentence into some other meaning. It ought to be taken calmly just as it stands. Christianity raised enormously, but of course

But thirdly, some Christians have been found guilty of heinous crimes. Be it so, says Justin. All we ask is a fair trial. Again, Christians do not use idolatrous methods of worship. But then such methods are absurd and unphilosophical. Christians are charged with aiming to set up a kingdom of their own, apart from the government of the Emperor. True, but it is not an earthly kingdom, as is shown by the fact that they welcome death as a means of entering into it. The virtues of Christians are set forth, and it is boldly claimed that they are of great value to the empire because of their loyalty and their good behavior. The foolishness and immorality of the heathen religious teachings is insisted on, and there is a little digression on the resurrection of the

only gradually, the common idea of what is meant by "worship" and of what is meant by "god." We to-day represent our new idea of what "god" can mean by spelling it with a capital letter, "God." We represent our new idea of what "worship" can mean by refusing to use the word for anything lower than that high gift which we reserve for God alone. Yet even to this day, and after all our controversies about the proper limitations of "worship," the Church of England Prayer Book still retains in the office of Holy Matrimony the phrase, "With my body I thee worship," and both in England and in America men in certain honorable stations are spoken of, and spoken to, as "worshipful." All this goes back to a time when that English word "worship" did not necessarily mean more than "treat with distinguished honor." Justin had several grades of meaning in his mind for such words as "worship" and "adore." When he was dealing with a heathen charge that Christianity swept the invisible world clear of objects of worship and left it a lonely waste, nothing was more natural for him than to take the words on their heathen level when telling the heathen man that the universe was as full of friends to the Christian as it could seem to him, only the friends were vastly better friends to have. When writing elsewhere of Christian worship from a *Christian standpoint*, our philosopher is perfectly evangelical, never hinting at any worship (in our sense of the word) of any other powers than the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

body as no more incredible than that human bodies should originate as every one knows that they do.

The bulk of the book (xxx.–lx.) is then given to showing how the leading facts of the Christian belief were foretold by Christian prophets ages before they came to pass, a few of these chapters being occupied with an exposition of Justin's idea that evil spirits had got hold of some of these prophecies and twisted them into parodies as part of the heathen mythology. Hence, Justin would say, come all the stories of wonder-working sons of God, of virgin births, and of resurrections from death. And here it may be noted that this Christian philosopher of the middle of the second century makes copious use of the argument from prophecy, and none at all of the argument from miracle. He believes in miracles profoundly. But he does not use them to base an argument on. It is sometimes said, especially by people who do not know much about it, that the Christians of the early days were a superstitious lot of people, ready to believe anything that was pleasantly marvellous. As a matter of fact, a superstitious age is apt to be incredulous also. When people are hearing of marvels constantly, a few more or less make very little difference. When miracles are alleged to prove half a dozen opposing religions, how much do any of them prove? The resurrection of our Lord was a different sort of marvel from the common ones, and it rested on different, and overwhelmingly strong, evidence. Christians did appeal to it as to a thing certain. But as to our Lord's miracles generally, Christians of Justin's type believed

in the miracles because first they had been led to believe in the Christ. They did not believe in the Christ because of the miracles. The only marvels that Justin appeals to in order to persuade a heathen, are the marvel of prophecy and the marvel of a life changed for the better.

The last eight chapters of the *Apology* are of immense value to us, because they contain our first account of Christian worship and Christian ceremonies from a Christian source. In lxi. the writer describes a Christian Baptism:

"I will also relate the manner in which we dedicated ourselves to God, when we had been made new through Christ, lest if we omit this we seem to be unfair in the explanation we are making. As many as are persuaded and believe that what we teach and say is true, and undertake to be able to live accordingly, are instructed to pray and to entreat God with fasting for the remission of their sins that are past, we praying and fasting with them. Then they are brought by us where there is water, and are regenerated in the same manner in which we were ourselves regenerated. For in the name of God, the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost, they then receive the washing with water. For Christ also said: *Except ye be born again, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.*"

He points to the impossibility of being born again in a physical sense, quotes Isa. i. 16-20, as a prophecy that repentant sinners were to escape from their sins by a washing, and goes on thus:

"And for this we have learned from the Apostles this reason. Since at our birth we are born without our own knowledge or choice by our parents' coming together, and were brought up in bad habits and wicked training, in order that we may not remain the children of necessity and of ignorance, but may become the children of choice and knowledge, and may obtain in the water the remission of sins formerly committed, there is pronounced over him who chooses to be born again, and has repented of his sins, the name of God, the Father and Lord of the universe, he who leads to the laver the person that is to be washed, calling Him by this name [*i. e.* 'God' and the 'Father'] alone. For no one can utter the name of the ineffable God, and if any one dares to say that there is a name, he raves with a hopeless madness. And this washing is called illumination, because they who learn these things are illuminated in their understandings. And in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and in the name of the Holy Ghost, who through the prophets foretold all things about Jesus, is the person washed."

There follow three chapters of digression, beginning with deriving all heathen ceremonies of purification from Isaiah's "Wash you, make you clean," by the agency of evil spirits, then turning off to say that heathen priests got their custom of going barefoot into the shrines of their idolatry from the word spoken to Moses, "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." In Chapter lxi. he resumes his account:

"But we, after we have thus washed him who has been convinced and has assented to our teaching, bring him to the place where those who are called brethren are assembled, in order that we may offer hearty prayers in common, for ourselves and for the illuminated person, and for all others in every place, that we may be counted worthy, now that we have learned the truth, by our works also to be found good citizens and keepers of the commandments, so that we may be saved with an everlasting salvation. Having ended the prayers, we salute one another with a kiss. There is then brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of wine mixed with water, and he taking them gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and offers thanks at considerable length for our being counted worthy to obtain these thing at his hands. And when he has concluded the prayers and thanksgivings, all the people present express their assent by saying *Amen*. This word *Amen* answers in the Hebrew language to our 'so be it.' And when the president has given thanks, and all the people have expressed their assent, those who are called by us deacons give to each of those present to partake of the bread and wine mixed with water, over which the thanksgiving was pronounced, and to those who are absent they carry away a portion. And this food is called among us a *Eucharist*, of which no one is allowed to partake but the man who believes that the things which we teach are true, and who has been washed with the washing that is for the remis-

sion of sins and unto regeneration, and who is so living as Christ has enjoined. For not as common bread and common drink do we receive these, but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour, having been made flesh by the Word of God,[1] had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so likewise have we been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of His Word, and from which our blood and flesh by transmutation are nourished, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh. For the Apostles, in the memoirs composed by them, which are called Gospels, have thus delivered unto us what was enjoined upon them,—that Jesus took bread, and when He had given thanks, said: *Do this in remembrance of Me: this is My Body;* and that after the same manner, having taken the cup, and given thanks, He said, *This is My Blood*, and gave it to them alone."

In the next chapter, lxvii., Justin goes on to an account of the ordinary Sunday morning service:

"And on the day called Sunday all, whether living in town or country, gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the prophets are read as long as time permits. Then, when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs and exhorts to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise together and

[1] Note that in Justin's mind the Holy Ghost has the title of the Word of God, as being the expression of the Father's mind, as well as the Son. It is thought by some, with much reason, that the phrase, "prayer of His Word," a few lines farther on, refers to a prayer of Invocation of the Holy Ghost, which is always found in Oriental Liturgies, and leaves traces in the Liturgies of the West.

pray, and as we before said, when our prayer is ended, bread and wine and water are brought, and the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings according to his ability, and the people assent, saying, *Amen*, and there is a distribution to each and a participation of that over which thanks have been given, and to those who are absent a portion is sent by the deacons. And they also who are well to do and willing give what each thinks fit, and what is collected is deposited with the president, who succors the orphans and widows, and those who are in bonds, and the strangers sojourning among us, and, in a word, takes care of all who are in need. And Sunday is the day on which we all hold our common assembly, because it was on the first day that God, having wrought a change in the darkness and matter, made the world, and Jesus Christ our Saviour on the same day rose from the dead. So He was crucified on the next day before that of Saturn,[1] and on the day after that of Saturn, which is the day of the Sun, He appeared to His apostles and disciples, and taught them these things which we have submitted to you also for your consideration."

All comment on these interesting disclosures must be reserved for later chapters. We are concerned here with showing simply what Justin had to offer in behalf of the Church. We may do well to remember in the meantime that his object was only to

[1] Justin uses this quaint circumlocution, "the day before Saturday," because he is unwilling to call the day of our Lord's death by its Roman name, "the day of Venus," which is the same as to say, "the day of lust."

tell the unbeliever enough to show that Christian procedures were blameless. Probably his brief exposition of the doctrine of the Eucharist was meant simply to suggest how innocent a foundation underlay the shocking charges of eating human flesh and drinking blood which were brought against the Christians on every side. The statement was wrung from him because it had got out that Christians used language of a suspicious sound, and to tell exactly how they used it was the only possible defense against the most cruel misunderstanding. Having thus made his defense Justin closes with renewing briefly, and with simple dignity, his plea that men should not be tortured and put to death without some proof of some definite wrongdoing, appealing also to the policy of Hadrian, the preceding emperor, and to the rescript addressed by him to Minucius Fundanus. Justin gives that rescript as an appendix to his work.

That this *First Apology* accomplished nothing with the rulers of Rome is evident from the *Second Apology*, which seems to have followed shortly after. It was drawn out by a characteristic example of the harsher policy of the Antonines. A woman of evil life had been converted to Christianity. Her vicious husband tried to drag her back to such evil courses as he still delighted in, and she refused. Finally she sent him a writing of divorce, as her only safety, and he, enraged, denounced her as a Christian. While she was awaiting trial, he succeeded in getting a certain Ptolemæus, who had been his wife's instructor, accused too. Ptolemæus is brought before

the City Prefect, Urbicus, and asked the one question, "Are you a Christian?" On his answering that he is, he is ordered to immediate execution. A certain Lucius, standing by, cries out in protest against such a sentence. "Why have you punished this man, not as an adulterer, nor fornicator, nor murderer, nor thief, nor robber, nor convicted of any crime at all, but who has only confessed that he is called by the name of Christian?" "You also seem to be such a one," was the judge's reply, and when Lucius acknowledged it, he too was ordered to execution, giving thanks for such a death, and straightway after another followed in the same course. Justin declares that he expects to suffer in like manner. More especially, there is a philosopher of the Cynic School, Crescens by name, who writes against Christianity, and is bitter against Justin for refuting him. *He* will probably bring his Christian adversary before the judge. But oh! if the Emperor would order a public disputation between the Cynic and the Christian teacher, and himself attend it, that would be a worthy deed!

How Justin escaped the natural consequences of this boldness, we cannot tell. He lived to write several other books, of which but one remains to us, his *Dialogue with the Jew Trypho*, a work longer than the two *Apologies* put together, presenting the Church's answer to the Jewish objection. It is not worth while to try to analyze it here, but it may be said that it is of high value as showing what was the Christian view of some great matters in Justin's time, and that it is a storehouse of illustrations of

that allegorizing method of interpreting the Old Testament Scripture which we have noted in the Epistle of Barnabas, and which seems to have prevailed universally in those early days. After a few more years of great usefulness the natural end did come at last. Before a magistrate named Rusticus,—we know not in what year precisely, but Rusticus became Prefect of the City A. D. 163,—Justin was brought, with six companions, one a woman, to answer to this same sole charge of Christianity. All were steadfast, and all were sentenced to suffer the horrors of a Roman scourging, and then to be beheaded. So they glorified God.

The death of Justin brings us within the reign of Marcus Aurelius, A. D. 161–180. Under that great emperor and noble man the imperial policy toward Christians was technically the same that it had been for a hundred years, but practically, harder than ever before. Marcus seems to have believed profoundly every vilest charge against Christian belief and life, and being himself high minded and conscientious, he not only despised such a people, he raged against them. His feeling in the matter seems to have been due particularly to the influence of an old teacher of his, the philosopher Fronto, to whom he was ardently attached. Fronto's attack did the Church a service in that it brought out another notable apology, the *Octavius* of Marcus Minucius Felix, written probably in the last year or two of the life of Antoninus Pius.[1] The writer was a

[1] Is Minucius Felix to be dated about A. D. 160? or about A. D. 230-235? He seems certainly to have borrowed from Tertul-

Roman lawyer, "of no mean ability," as we are told by one of the latest writers of our period, Lactantius, but his birthplace seems to have been the same town, of Cirta in North Africa, from which Fronto himself had come forth to win fame and fortune.

The *Octavius* is an account of a discussion between two friends of the writer, Octavius, a Christian, and Cæcilius, a heathen, who had gone with him to Ostia for a seaside holiday. It contains almost nothing of Christian doctrine or Christian practice. Its argument is for the unity of God and for the resurrection of the body, and to defend the Christians from the charge of unspeakable immoralities. Beautiful as its style is,—and so competent a critic as Dean Milman said of it, that it recalled the golden days of Latin prose composition,—it would be of smallest interest to the historical student but for this one consideration: if we are right in dating it in the last year of Antoninus, this is the first Christian book in the Latin tongue, the first abiding utterance of

lian's *Apologeticus*, or Tertullian from him. Salmon (Dictionary of Christian Biography, *Minucius*) adopts the later date, Lightfoot (*Ignatius and Polycarp*, I. 534,) the earlier. Two points favor placing him here. (1) He makes Fronto his representative of the attacks on Christians, which he would not have done 60 or 70 years after Fronto's death. (2) In arguing the unity of God, he urges the absurdity of trying to rule any great empire with a divided authority. "Who ever heard," he says, "of a partnership in supreme power (*societatem regni*) that either began with honesty, or came to an end without blood?" The rule of Marcus Aurelius saw two such partnerships, of Aurelius and Verus (161–169), and of Aurelius and his son Commodus (177–180). It would seem as if Minucius must have written before these examples had come to light. Of course, he may have written fifty years after the death of Aurelius, and written so carelessly as to use an argument that any one with a decent knowledge of history, or any old man with a good memory for politics, could instantly demolish. But that is hardly likely.

Latin Christianity. The family name Minucius would seem to imply a man of good blood, of the same large family connection with that Minucius Fundanus to whom Hadrian sent the rescript. It is a step gained when the Christian cause has for a defender a gentleman of social standing and a member of the Roman bar. It is another step, when the Christian answer begins to be heard in the Roman speech, because certainly Latin could gain a hearing in some quarters where Greek would not find entrance. It will be nearly thirty years yet before we come to a Roman bishop, Victor, with a Latin rather than a Greek name. Here for the first time we find Christianity so well assimilated at Rome as that a Roman speaks for Christ in the Roman speech. It is noteworthy that this very case is that of a Roman born in North Africa. That province was the nurse, if not the mother, of Latin Christianity. Rome was so much dominated at this period by foreign fashions, and particularly by Greek taste, Greek feeling, Greek thought, Greek literature, that the Roman character did not for long get a chance to show what it would make of Christ's religion, which every nation colors with its own individuality, nor what Christ's religion would make that strong character to be. Over Carthage, Rome's ancient rival, and over the province that had Carthage for its metropolis, the Latin tongue and the Latin temper had a sway that they had not in their proper home. It was in the province of Africa that the Bible was first translated into Latin, a version somewhat rude and provincial, to be sure, and not always

accurate, but a forming force among readers who knew no Greek, while as yet all Italy was without such a treasure. Latin Christianity had its cradle in North Africa, and whether it was the Roman lawyer, Minucius, or the Carthaginian lawyer, Tertullian, that first gave it voice in argument, it was in any case an African, rather than a Roman impulse to which the first Latin argument is due. Yet after all, though it is the African education that makes the Roman lawyer plead for Christianity in Latin rather than in Greek, it is the old Roman temper that speaks out in the extract (*Octavius*, xxxvii.) which shall represent Minucius to us, and at the same time illustrate the history in which he had been called to bear a part:

"How beautiful is the spectacle to God, when a Christian does battle with pain! When he is drawn up against threats and punishments and tortures, when mocking the noise of death he treads under foot the torture of the executioner, when he raises up his liberty against kings and princes and yields to God alone, to whom he belongs, when, triumphant and victorious, he tramples upon the very man who has pronounced sentence against him! For he has conquered who obtains that for which he contends. What soldier would not provoke peril with greater boldness under the eye of his general? For no one receives a reward before his trial, and yet the general does not give what he has not: he cannot preserve life, but he can make the warfare glorious. But God's soldier is neither forsaken in suffering, nor brought to an end by death. Thus the Chris-

tian may seem to be miserable; he cannot be really found to be so. You yourselves extol unfortunate men to the skies,—Mucius Scævola, for instance, who when he had failed in his attempt against the king, would have perished among enemies, if he had not sacrificed his right hand. And how many of our people have borne that not their right hand only, but their whole body, should be burned, burned up without any cries of pain, especially when they had it in their power to be let go. Do I compare men with Mucius or Aquilius, or with Regulus? Yet boys and young women among us treat with contempt crosses and tortures, wild beasts, and all the bugbears of punishments, with the inspired patience of suffering. And do you not perceive, O wretched men, that there is nobody who either is willing without reason to undergo punishment, or is able without God to bear tortures."

But now the combat thickens, this great conflict between cruel force on one side and reason and faith and patience on the other. Between the years 150 and 180, the year of the death of Marcus Aurelius, we must imagine apologies pouring in thick and fast, —the *Address to the Greeks* of Tatian, known as "the Assyrian," a pupil of Justin Martyr at Rome, compiler of the first *Harmony of the Gospels*,[1] and founder afterwards of a heretical sect; the *Embassy*

[1] The recent discovery of certain Arabic copies of this work, called the *Diatessaron*, has greatly strengthened the proof that our present four Gospels were used in the Church, and venerated as of Apostolic origin, within the first half of the second century, and therefore cannot have been brand-new writings just produced in that period, as certain non-Christian writers have labored to show that they were.

and treatise *On the Resurrection* of Athenagoras, an Athenian philosopher, said by tradition to have been the first teacher of the famous theological school of Alexandria, and certainly the most finished writer among the Greek apologists; an *Address to the Greeks* and a *Letter to Diognetus*, which may be ascribed perhaps to an Athenian, Ambrose, but are involved in much obscurity (*cf.* an interesting article, *Epistle to Diognetus*, in the Dictionary of Christian Biography); an *Apology* addressed to Marcus Aurelius and his son by Melito, bishop of Sardis, a voluminous writer and saintly man, of whom we shall hear more in another connection; the three books, *To Autolycus*, addressed to a heathen friend by Theophilus, fifth successor of Ignatius in the bishopric of the Syrian Antioch, books where we find the word *Trinity* for the first time in Christian literature, and by no means the first quotation from the Gospel according to St. John, but yet the first which names St. John expressly as the author; and three volumes, an *Apology to the Rulers*, and controversial works *Against the Greeks* and *Against the Jews*, respectively, of an Asiatic writer, Miltiades, of whom no trace remains, but who had great reputation in his day. The same three titles which are ascribed to Miltiades are given also to books written by Claudius Apolinarius (this seems to be the best authorized of three different spellings of his name), who was bishop of the Phrygian city of Hierapolis, and who is quoted by Eusebius as an authority for the famous story of the "Thundering Legion."

Here we have a curious bit of second century his-

tory, which, when divested of legendary additions, amounts to this. In the year 174 Marcus Aurelius was personally in command of a Roman army fighting against the *Quadi*, a warlike people somewhere in the valley of the Danube. There came a prolonged drought, the army suffered terribly from thirst, the horses and mules were near to perishing, and a cloud of foes hovered near, threatening an overwhelming assault. In this emergency the Emperor offered public prayers to Jupiter, and a considerable body of Christian soldiers in the 12th, or Melitene, Legion also prayed earnestly for deliverance. Clouds gathered swiftly over what had been a clear sky, rain poured down accompanied by a storm of hail with thunder and lightning, the Roman arms were saved from appalling disaster, and the enemy were discomfited. The heathen Emperor and his Christian soldiers claimed each with equal honesty, that a miracle had been wrought for them. Eusebius quotes Claudius Apolinarius as saying that the Emperor gave the name of "Thundering Legion" to the Legion of Melitene from that day. As a matter of fact, the Legion had had its peculiar name, not *Fulminatrix* as in later forms of the story, but *Fulminata*, meaning probably that they carried thunderbolts on their standards as a regimental badge, for more than a hundred years before. Perhaps Claudius said that from that time they bore the title fitly, or some such thing, and Eusebius misunderstood. Perhaps Claudius fell into a blunder himself. At any rate a remarkable thing happened. All parties thought the deliverance miraculous.

Heathen writers tell of it as well as Christians. Both boast of it. Only in later years the Christian story grew, till it made the Legion to consist wholly of Christians, and represented Marcus as begging their help, and finally invented a letter from the Emperor, forbidding all further persecution of Christians under his rule! But no! neither protests nor providences could touch the conscience of the most conscientious of all the Roman emperors, when it came to be a matter of justice to the Christian name. His admirable reign brought on the darkest day that the Church had yet seen. Persecution was rife, probably, throughout the empire. The one vivid picture that has been preserved to us comes from southern Gaul, from the cities of *Lugdunum* and *Vienna*, now known as Lyons and Vienne.

These cities had been colonized largely from western Asia Minor. They still drew on that region for many immigrants. Their business connections were with Ephesus and Smyrna and the neighbor cities. Their language was Greek. Their thought and feeling were of the East rather than of the West. Of nine martyrs mentioned by name in the story of this persecution, Attalus is a man from Pergamus, in the Roman province of Asia, and Alexander, the physician, is described as a Phrygian. Irenæus, who succeeds the martyred bishop, Pothinus, in his dangerous dignity, is another Asiatic, having lived as a youth at Smyrna, and been a pupil of the blessed Polycarp. So it came to pass that when the storm of persecution fell heavily on these two Churches, in the year 177, and love and sorrow and pride and anxious

fears were raised to the highest tension, they remembered loving friends in a far country and addressed to them a really wonderful letter, from which Eusebius has happily preserved large extracts in his history.

"The servants of Christ sojourning at Vienne and Lyons in Gaul, to the brethren throughout Asia and Phrygia, who hold the same faith and hope of redemption, peace and grace and glory"—mark the trumpet-call of that last word! When any Christian might any day be called to be a martyr, "glory" was a familiar attribute of the Christian life—"from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Lord." From this beginning the writers go on to tell a story of suffering which they declare expressly to be beyond the power of words to tell in all its fulness. "With all his might the Adversary fell upon us," they say. The personality and power of Satan were vivid to their intense faith in God's revelation of the invisible world. The method which the prince of this world employed against God's people was first the stirring up of popular prejudice. The houses of the heathen began to be closed against persons known to be Christians. Then Christians were excluded from the baths and the markets. It began to be unsafe for a Christian to be seen anywhere abroad. Mob violence arose against the hated sect. They were yelled after, they were beaten, they were dragged in the dirt, they suffered the spoiling of their goods, they were stoned, they were made prisoners in their own houses. Then the officers of the law thought it time to interfere, but only to deepen the misery of the victims, and to

gratify the mob. A number of persons were arrested by the city authorities of Lyons, and held for trial before the governor of the province, who was about to hold his court there. Their examination by the governor was so cruel and unfair that a young man, Vettius Epagathus, who, though an earnest Christian, had somehow escaped arrest, arose and asked permission to be heard as a witness that atheism and irreligion were groundless charges against Christianity. The only answer was an enquiry if he was a Christian. On his acknowledgment that he was, he was taken into the order of the martyrs, "being pleased to lay down his life for his brethren." It sounds as if he was ordered to immediate execution. If a Roman citizen, he could not have been tortured lawfully, nor submitted to any worse form of death than beheading. If a Roman citizen of high social standing, he would pretty certainly have had his legal rights respected. He was probably made an example of at once. The letter says that though young, he had such a reputation as that elder, Zacharias, who walked *in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless*, and speaks of him as called "the paraclete[1] of the Christians," but as having in himself the Paraclete, which is the Holy Ghost, more abundantly than Zacharias himself.

Then there began to be a sifting. About ten of

[1] *Paraclete* represents in English letters the word rendered "Comforter," in St. John xiv. 16, 26, and "Advocate," in 1 St. John ii. 1. The true meaning of the word is "one called to help," or as we may put it, "a friend in need." Such a person is often a comforter, but the word never means "comforter."

the prisoners apostatized. "They proved abortions," in the quaint language of the letter. The zeal of the persecutors was inflamed. Arrests multiplied both in Lyons and in Vienne, till "all the zealous persons, and those through whom especially our conditions had been shaped, were gathered in." This must, of course, be an exaggeration, born of love and humility. Those that had not been arrested kept visiting the martyrs, we had been told before. Even if these bold visitors were now swept in, there was zeal left in the two Churches, as this very letter shows. Yet the proportion of loss must have been very terrible. How many suffered, Eusebius does not tell us, but he does say that a catalogue of all the martyrs could be found in this letter, but he would not copy it. Why? Obviously, because it was too long, and contained too many names of which nothing else was known. Those named in the progress of the story were but a small part of the whole number. Gregory of Tours, writing his book, *On the Glory of the Martyrs*, 400 years after these events, says that there were forty-eight, and names forty-five. That he got his information from a full copy of this letter, and that this statement is correct seems altogether probable. Forty-eight is not a great number in one view, but forty-eight going to death through unutterable horrors of torture out of two Churches, which can hardly be supposed to have numbered together more than a thousand souls, when one considers how the writers speak as if all their leadership had been taken away,—such a loss of one in twenty, or even a greater proportion than

that, and those among the best and strongest in the Christian community, was an experience more appalling than it is easy for us to conceive.

The horror deepened. Heathen slaves, in fear of torture, testified to all the worst things that they had ever heard concerning Christians,—cannibal feasts, incests, promiscuous and shameful immoralities,—till "all the people raged like wild beasts against us, so that even if any had before been moderate on account of friendship, they were now exceedingly furious, and gnashed their teeth against us. And that which was spoken by our Lord was fulfilled: *The time will come when whosoever killeth you, will think that he doeth God service.*"

Probably almost the whole heathen population believed these testimonies to be true. Some good men—Marcus Aurelius himself was one—thought that the world was growing more and more corrupt, that a rising tide of vileness threatened the destruction of social order and of all that could be called civilization among men, and that this strange and obscure phenomenon of Christianity was one of the very worst symptoms of these evil days. To meet such a passionate prejudice of sincere and upright men, our Lord needed a great testimony for His cause. He had it. The word "martyr" is our way of writing the Greek word for "a witness." The Greek word had not in those days any such technical meaning as "martyr" has now. But the Church took it up and applied it in a way that soon made it technical, because the Church saw so plainly that suffering for Christ in this fashion was a magnificent testimony in

behalf of Christ. The first "witness" named in this story is a woman, Blandina,—a woman, and weak, and a slave. The persecutors put her forward as an easy prey. Her Christian mistress, who also suffered in this trial, feared for her and could not see how she could hold out. She was tortured "from morning till evening in every manner." "Her entire body was mangled and broken." The persecutors said that any one of her various agonies should have been enough to destroy life. "But the blessed woman, like an athlete, renewed her strength in her confession." Her comfort and relief was in repeating this one cry: *I am a Christian, and there is nothing vile done by us.*

The deacon, Sanctus, "endured superhumanly." He would not give his name, his nationality, his residence, his condition as slave or freeman. Only one phrase could be wrung from him, "I am a Christian." Ingenuity itself was racked to find tortures for him, and finally red-hot plates were fixed to the tenderest parts of his body. "And these indeed were burned," the story goes on, "but he continued unbending and unyielding, firm in his confession, and refreshed and strengthened by the heavenly fountain of the water of life, flowing from the bowels of Christ. And his body was a witness for his sufferings, being one whole wound and bruise, drawn out of shape, and altogether unlike a human form. Christ suffering in him manifested His glory, delivering him from his adversary, and making him an example for the others, showing that nothing is fearful where the love of the Father is, and nothing

painful where there is the glory of Christ." The same martyr was brought back to the arena a few days later, in the expectation that with his body in such an awful state he must at the least touch of further tortures give up his resolution or his life. To the general amazement, he rose up in renewed strength, and even the natural appearance of his tortured body was in some measure restored, as if his renewed sufferings were a healing rather than a hurt.

Such endurance was set down, of course, to "obstinacy." Yet thoughtful observers must have felt that that was an explanation which did not explain. There was a power at work in these people, a marvellous power, and what might that power be? And why again did such persons so firmly repel the charge of evil deeds which all Christians were supposed to do, when certainly torture was as nothing to them, and not for life or any deliverance would they give up the Christian name? Here was one of the puzzling cases. A woman, Biblias, had shown herself weaker than these people generally were. She had publicly denied Christ. There was hope of getting valuable information from her, and she was brought back to the arena and tortured again, to get from her a confession of Christian crimes and deeds of darkness. "But she recovered herself under the suffering," says the letter, "and as if awaking from a deep sleep, and reminded by the present anguish of the eternal punishment in hell, she contradicted the blasphemers. 'How!' she said, 'could those eat children, who do not think it lawful to eat blood

even of irrational animals?"[1] And thenceforward she confessed herself a Christian, and was given a place in the order of the martyrs."

But the testimony of Christ's "witnesses" had to be heeded, if it was to be effective, and for the time it fell upon deaf ears. The prison was kept so crowded with victims that many died by suffocation or by prison fevers. Among these victims was Pothinus, bishop of Lyons, a man of over ninety years, a great sufferer from asthma, and very infirm. Brought before the governor and required to tell what God the Christians worshipped, he made no other answer but this,—"If thou art worthy, thou shalt know." Then he was hurried away to the prison, under a shower of blows and missiles from an angry mob, and after two days, during which he could scarcely breathe in that terrible atmosphere, he was taken to his rest. A boy named Pontius became a martyr at the age of fifteen. Attalus of Pergamos, a man of distinction and of Roman citizenship, was submitted to the torture of the iron chair, and while the fumes of his roasting flesh arose in the arena, he cried in the Latin tongue, for the common people to understand, "Lo! this which *ye* do is devouring men, but *we* do not devour men, nor do any other wicked thing." Space fails to tell even what has been preserved to us of this marvellous story. It closes, as regards the record of triumphant deaths, with a further mention of the noble slave-woman, Blandina. She, for whom the brethren had feared,

[1] The allusion is, of course, to the prohibition of "blood" mentioned in Acts xv. 20, 29.

seems to have been preserved beyond them all, a monument of the power of God. She had been hung on a stake in a kind of crucifixion, and thus exposed to wild beasts, she had been scourged, she had sat in the iron chair, she had been enclosed in a net to be tossed by a wild bull, and still she lived invincible, till the executioner was ordered to stab her and give her her release. The whole story was written by eyewitnesses, and though written under the stress of strong emotion, it seems to be perfectly simple and straightforward. It has the ring of truth. But if it be true, it witnesses to the presence of supernatural power. The more one reads the story, the more one is shut up to these alternatives, —either this simple-seeming narrative is exaggerated out of all resemblance to the truth, or these were miracles of human endurance as marvellous as the raising of the dead to life. One hundred and fifty years after Jesus Christ had ascended into heaven, signs most wonderful were following them that believed.

Two special features must be noted here, which make this the sweetest and finest of all the martyr-stories of the church. The first is the humility of the martyrs. "They were also so zealous in their imitation of Christ,—*who being in the form of God, counted not the being equal with God a thing to be grasped at*,—that though they had attained such honor, and had born witness, not once, or twice, but many times, having been brought back to prison from the wild-beasts, covered with burns and scars and wounds, yet they did not proclaim themselves

witnesses, neither did they suffer us to address them by this name. If any one of us, in letter or conversation, spoke of them as witnesses, they rebuked him sharply. For they conceded cheerfully the appellation of Witness to Christ, *the faithful and true Witness*, and *Firstborn of the dead* and Prince of the life of God; and they reminded us of the witnesses who had already departed, and said, 'They are already witnesses, whom Christ has deemed worthy to be taken up in their confession, having sealed their witness by their departure, but we are lowly and humble confessors.' And they besought the brethren with tears, that earnest prayers should be offered that they might be perfected."

The second special characteristic of this story is the natural counterpart of the first. With the humility of these martyrs goes their charity. Some who had suffered less than they, had denied and blasphemed Christ. Such were fellow prisoners with them still. Their attitude towards these so pitifully lost souls was singularly Christlike. "They did not boast over the fallen, but helped them in their need with those things in which they themselves abounded,"—the reference is probably to food and comforts supplied to them by friends outside the prison—"having the compassion of a mother, and shedding many tears on their account before the Father." They had their rich reward in seeing some of these unfortunates restored to the Christian life, and going by the passage of a faithful death into Paradise. "They asked for life," says the record, "and He gave it to them, and they shared it with their neigh-

bors. Victorious over everything, they departed to God, leaving no sorrow to their mother, nor division, nor strife, to their brethren, but joy and peace and concord and love." Eusebius, writing 150 years later, feeling obliged to call special attention to this touching record because of its contrast with what he calls "the inhuman and unmerciful disposition" of some rigid Christians in the next century.

Here we must leave for the present the story of the Church's conflict with persecuting earthly powers. After every great persecution there came a reaction on the part of the imperial authorities, and probably in the popular feeling as well. A good many people would get to be shaken as to the justice of all this agony and slaughter. A wave of irresolution would sweep over the public mind, and would make itself felt in the movements of official policy. The reign of Commodus, A. D. 180–193, was thus a time of quiet for the Church. In fact, the Emperor had no moral sense sufficient to give him any concern whether Christians were good or bad, so long as they did not seem to be political revolutionaries, and his concubine, Marcia, who had much influence with him, had somehow learned a respect and kindness for Christian teachers. The reign of Severus, A. D. 193–211,—this is Lucius Septimius Severus, to be distinguished from Alexander Severus, a friend of Christians, reigning A. D. 222–235—will see a renewal of persecution, but the conditions of the Church will be different enough to require the later history to be treated by itself. The difference may be said to be this,—the age of the apologists is now

over. There will be more apologies and new apologists, and some particularly great ones, but apologetic writings will no longer be the chief work of the Church's literary men. Christianity has become strong enough in this awful conflict to gather a multitude of followers which needs strong guiding by wise teaching, and it has also gained power to produce such teaching. When a historian divides his story into clearly marked periods with telling titles, it may generally be said that the more interesting his descriptions, the less closely accurate they are. Nevertheless, one may get some value out of such a division of the Post-Apostolic Age as this:

I. The Period of Organization (A. D. 75–125);

II. The Period of Apologists (A. D. 125–180);

III. The Period of Theological Teachers (A. D. 180–313).

But before we pass to the work of men who were before all things else great Christian Teachers, and to the rise of recognized Schools of Christian Learning, we must give attention to some other conditions of the Church's struggle in this same Period of Apologists which we have been passing in review. We have to consider certain perversions of Christianity, which figured as rivals of the Catholic Church in this period and afterwards, and certain controversies which troubled the Church within. Though some of these subjects belong quite as much to the following period as to this, it will be convenient to speak of them all before going farther with the study of the main line of the Church's development.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHURCH'S RIVALS: EBIONISM AND GNOSTICISM.

HEN a new idea is presented to a man's mind, especially a religious idea, the man is not likely to receive it unless he can make it fit with what he has been in the habit of thinking, with what he has been particularly sure of and interested in, in the time past of his life. Most men's convictions cannot be changed rapidly, in any way that can be called profound, at least, because if God gives them any new revelation remote from the belief which they have formerly cherished, they will color the new revelation very deeply from the hue of their former thoughts, and much reshape it by pouring it into the mould of their own prejudices. That is what happened with the Christian Gospel in many men's reception of it. It could not be otherwise.

When the Word of God was made flesh, and began thus to make God known to men in a new order, that Divine Word, our Saviour, had one great help for His work, and one great difficulty, from the existing conditions of human thought. The help came from the fact that the Roman Empire was in a state of religious unrest. There was a hunger in many men's hearts for something better in the way of religion than they had. The Jew was looking

eagerly for a Messiah and for a world-wide kingdom of righteousness. The heathen man wanted to find some god whom he could respect and love as well as fear. Old religious conditions were felt to be unsatisfactory. The time was ripe for something new. The difficulty came in the fact that the new thing which God actually had to give was in some ways surprisingly different from anything that men had begun to look for, and in some ways positively antagonistic to their natural ideas. To the Jew the Mosaic system, with its Temple, its ministry, its sacrifices, its circumcision, its Sabbaths, was the essential embodiment of religion. It was a terrible shock to be asked to conceive of the service of God as going on acceptably with all these things left out of it. To the heathen man, deeply and awfully impressed with the conflict of good and evil forces in the world's life, it was perhaps as severe a trial to be asked to believe that the whole created universe, the whole tangle of good and bad, was the work of one Being, a good God and Father, loving and wise and almighty. Many, therefore, both of Jews and heathen, accepted the religion of Jesus Christ as somehow representing a revelation from the true God, but proceeded to work it over till they had made another thing of it, correcting the divine message by their own prepossessions, rather than giving up their prepossessions to be corrected by the divine message. Judaism and heathenism furnished each its own characteristic perversions of the Christian Gospel, setting up in each case a rival message and a rival Church, or rather Churches, for the more popular any

one of these false Gospels was found to be, the more numerously it multiplied into petty sects.

1. *Ebionism.* The Jewish perversion of Christianity took its name from *Ebion*, the Hebrew word for poor. Later Christian explanations dwelt upon the "poor" notions concerning our Lord which were entertained by Ebionite believers, or on their "poverty of intellect," or even guessed at a founder named with this name. Some among modern scholars have thought that "the poor" might have been a contemptuous designation of early Christian believers generally in Jewish circles, the Gospel making its way so much faster among the poor than among the rich as to give opportunity for such a sneer. There can be no reasonable doubt, however, that this title was one which the members of the sect assumed to themselves, and a word of pride of that very common kind, "the pride which apes humility." The Hebrew prophets dwell much on God's love and care for the poor. Take, for example, the splendid Messianic prophecy of the seventy-second Psalm. It is particularly concerned all through with the poor, the needy, the oppressed. Nothing more natural, then, and nothing more arrogant, than for a little sect of peculiar opinions to take to themselves this really great title of "God's poor."[1] One may guess that in the case of these Hebrew improvers of Christianity the choice of such a designation implied a sorrowful recognition of the

[1] One may compare the very similar name of the mediæval sect of the Waldenses who preferred to be called "The Poor Men of Lyons."

downfall of their nation as a secular power. So far these half-converts were ready to accept the inevitable. They acknowledged Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah, and they recognized the fact that His Kingdom was to be a kingdom "not of this world." But God's Kingdom could not be a disloyal kingdom. The poor of God must obey the law of God. That, to the Ebionite believers, meant the law of Moses. They were the followers of those who are mentioned in Acts xv. 1, as teaching the brethren, "Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved." In the Apostolic Age the Church was torn in twain by the contentions of two parties, the party of subjection to the Mosaic system, and the party of freedom from it. Now the strife was over, but not by any reconciliation of the opposing parties. Ebionism had become a rival religion to Christianity, and maintained a rival Church.

(*a*) In dealing with the parties or sects which grew out of the Ebionite movement, it might be made to appear supremely unjust to begin with the *Nazarenes*, for they began as a Christian party, not sharing the Ebionite temper; but they passed over into the position of a separate sect at last, and it is with this movement of thought that they are to be connected. At first they were simply Jewish Christians, who kept up such ancestral usages as circumcision and the Sabbath, in addition to the Sacraments and services of the Christian Church, and while claiming the liberty to go on doing as their forefathers had done in these matters, recognized cheerfully the equal right of any other Christians to

do nothing of the sort. Beginning, no doubt, in Jerusalem, they removed, according to our Lord's warning, when they saw "Jerusalem compassed with armies," and took refuge in the little town of Pella, east of the Jordan. Then, when after the revolt of Bar Cochba, A. D. 132–135, other Christians went back to dwell in Hadrian's city of Ælia Capitolina built up out of Jerusalem's ruins, these were too tender of Jewish national feeling to go and become part of a Gentile Church, or live in what was understood to be henceforth a Gentile city, but we have no reason to suppose that there was any breach of communion between them and the Gentile bishops of Ælia or the Christians under their charge. A curious book called "The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," deathbed speeches put into the mouth of Jacob's sons, seems to be the work of a Nazarene writer. If so, it is the sole monument in Christian literature of the activity of this peculiar people. It was probably written early in the second century, though some date it in the latter half. Its dealing with the sins of Jacob's sons is marked by a simplicity that sounds coarse to modern ears, and it is not worth reading for the ordinary student, but it has a noteworthy passage in the Testament of Benjamin, in the form of a glowing prophecy of the career of St. Paul. "And I shall no longer be called a ravening wolf," it says, "on account of your ravages, but a worker of the Lord, distributing good to them who work what is good. And one shall rise up from my seed in the latter times, beloved of the Lord, hearing upon earth His voice, enlightening

with new knowledge the Gentiles, bursting in upon Israel with salvation with the light of knowledge, and tearing it away from it like a wolf, and giving it to the synagogue of the Gentiles. And until the consummation of the ages shall he be in the synagogues of the Gentiles, and among their rulers, as a strain of music in the mouth of all; and he shall be inscribed in the holy books, both his work and his word, and he shall be a chosen one of the Lord for ever; and because of him my father Jacob instructed me saying: 'He shall fill up that which lacks of thy tribe.'"

The reference to St. Paul is unmistakable, and the passage would seem to imply the heartiest acceptance of Pauline Christianity. At the same time the keeping up of a large framework of religious habits with which the main body of the Church was far out of sympathy was a hazardous experiment. It tended constantly to throw the Nazarenes into the position of a separate sect. When Jerome, who lived for some time in Palestine in the latter part of the fourth century, and who quotes with approval some Nazarene interpretations of Old Testament passages, describes them as people who tried to be both Jews and Christians, and ended by being neither, he seems to imply that the experiment had already failed. Whether by a gradual growth in the wrong direction on their own part, or by a narrow and technical temper on the part of the rulers of the Church in Palestine, the Nazarenes had become separated from the Catholic body. The lesson of their history is a warning against the sectarian spirit.

These Christians began with building up on the essential foundations of Christianity a large superstructure of things innocent in themselves, and carefully defined as non-essentials. But though Christians of a soundly Catholic theory, the Nazarenes did in practice give their love and zeal to the non-essential traits of their own party more than to the truly essential elements of the religion of Jesus Christ, and the inevitable result was first separation into a rival Church, and then the gradual loss of those very fundamentals of Christian doctrine which they had once been as ready as any one to maintain inviolate.

The Nazarenes were never a numerous body, and probably never had any influence worth speaking of upon the Church's growth. What their descendants have come to be, as a curious little sect in Southern Babylonia, with a strange mixture of Christian, Jewish, and heathen notions, but with nothing left that could at all be described as Christianity, may be learned from the Article *Mandæans* in the Encyclopedia Britannica.

(*b*) The Ebionites proper parted into two main branches. The earlier party is that which has come to be labelled by modern writers as *Pharisaic Ebionites.* In addition to the general Ebionite position of unwillingness to give up the law of Moses as anything less than a law for the whole world, these stumbled also at the story of the Virgin Birth and at the idea of our Lord's Divinity. Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah, doubtless, but He was born like other men, and it was only at His baptism that He received an effusion of Divine Power which raised

Him above the level of other servants of God. They had a Hebrew Gospel, which added to the words from heaven in the story of the baptism the phrase, "This day have I begotten Thee." This same apocryphal Gospel contains also a story given as true by Justin Martyr,—we know not whence Justin received it,—that a fire appeared upon the waters of the Jordan, when our Lord was baptized. The great commentator Origen quaintly compares these Ebionites to the blind men just out of Jericho, who could not see our Lord as He was, and called to Him, "Have mercy upon us, O Lord, Thou Son of David." The pitiful difference is that the blind men by Jericho believed all that God gave them to believe, while to these other blind men our Lord had distinctly showed Himself in His claim to be not only Son of David, but Son of God, and still they would not see. They had, of course, a special rage against St. Paul. It was he above all other men who had withstood them in their piratical attempt to seize the Ark of Christ's Church and sail it away under a flag of heresy and hatred,—heresy as to our Lord's Person and work, hatred of all the world, so far as it would not consent to bear the Jewish stamp. St. Paul was the very embodiment of evil in their eyes.

The field of influence of such a body of believers must have been confined pretty much to men of Jewish birth. It cannot, in general, have affected the Church's life and growth in any way beyond keeping back a certain number of Jews, who might but for this half-way house have been brought into

the Christian fellowship; but it included at least one earnest soul who worked amid its pitiful darkness of delusion to do a great service to the Kingdom of God. Towards the end of the second century, or in the early part of the third, Symmachus, an Ebionite of this order, produced a translation of the Old Testament into Greek. Two such versions had been made already in Christian times, those of Aquila and Theodotion, both Jewish proselytes. Jerome, the learned scholar of the fourth century, describes the three versions, Aquila's as following the original with slavish literalness, Theodotion's as most scrupulously careful not to depart far from older translations, and that of Symmachus as giving the best idea of the real sense of Holy Scripture. It is hardly necessary to add that when Jerome himself was translating the Bible into Latin, he was profoundly influenced in his Old Testament renderings by this Greek version of Symmachus. Jerome's Latin became the accepted form of the Scriptures for the whole Latin-reading Church, the *Editio Vulgata* (Edition Commonly Received), whence our English term "Vulgate" for the official Bible of the Roman Communion,—a version that has influenced human thought more profoundly than any other that ever was made.[1]

[1] It should be remembered that the Vulgate Latin Version had been read and studied for more than a thousand years before the King James Version, or its Elizabethan predecessor, from which the Prayer Book Version of the Psalms is drawn, or Luther's great German Version, saw the light. Moreover, the influence of the Vulgate is felt profoundly in both the English and the German translations, so that the influence of these noble rivals of the Vulgate is partly an influence of the Vulgate, too.

So out of this untoward ground of Ebionism springs one, and not the least important, among the many sources which have gone to feed a river of life in the knowledge of the true meaning of the Scriptures, which still makes glad the City of God.

(*c*) Pharisaic Ebionism represented the extremest refusal of Judaism to accept any new elements of thought beyond the bare acknowledgment that Jesus of Nazareth was the promised Messiah. But Jews were scattered through nearly all the countries of the Roman Empire, and some of these had gone a step farther in their mental development. They could not help being influenced by the thought of philosophical heathenism. Out of this mixture came still another growth that founded itself upon the Christ, and yet was not genuine Christianity. It is called by scholars *Essene* or *Gnostic Ebionism.*

The name *Gnostic* implies the presence in the system of some such elements drawn from heathen thought as we shall see in the corrupted versions of Christianity presently to be considered under the head of Gnosticism. The name *Essene* is intended to suggest the probable origin of this sect from a peculiar secret society, the Essenes or Essæans, which seems to have had place among the Jews of Palestine for something like 150 years before the Coming of our Lord. Edersheim gives a singularly interesting account of them in his *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, Book III., Chap. ii. A very different view of them is given by another great authority in the Dictionary of Christian Biography, Art. *Essenes*, and Bishop Lightfoot has treated of them with

large learning in a dissertation appended to his volume on the *Epistle to the Colossians*. They seem to have been very rigid Puritans, reminding one of early Quakers in some of their habits, and of Shakers in others, for most of the society were bound to a celibate life. Edersheim derives their name of Essenes from a Hebrew word meaning "Outsiders." Outsiders they certainly were in the view of the Jewish Church. They obeyed the law of Moses strictly, as they understood it, but their understanding was far remote from the common one. They never ate the Passover, for they were strict vegetarians. They never attended the Temple worship, though they sometimes sent thank-offerings to be offered there. Everywhere they were marked by their white robes, the symbol of the purity for which they were eager, and in pursuit of such purity they held themselves aloof from all uninitiated persons. They lived in community, having no individual possessions, and they were bound by terrible oaths never to touch food that was not prepared by one of their own number, and served at a meal which was a religious exercise. Excommunication was recognized in their system, but to the Essene to be excommunicated from the brotherhood with its common table meant nothing less than death by starvation, as a deliverance of the purged soul from the offending body. That they denied the resurrection of the body is both stated and again disputed. It seems more probable that they did.

This little society—there were about 4,000 of them when the Christian Church was young—seems to

have been taken hold of by the teachings of our Lord, and to have seen in them the opportunity for a universal religion. The system which grew up out of their acceptance of our Lord as a prophet aimed to clear Judaism of its elements most offensive to the heathen mind, while saving its dignified monotheism, its austere morality, and its simple doctrine of the origin of the universe. This Gnostic Ebionism declared nearly all historic Judaism to be a corruption of the divine law. It discarded all the Old Testament except the Five Books of Moses, and some portions even of those. It taught that animal sacrifices had been from the first a misunderstanding, and that all references to such things in its expurgated Bible were to be interpreted allegorically. It divided the Old Testament heroes into two classes, "prophets of truth," and "prophets of understanding, not of truth," meaning, apparently, by "prophets of understanding" ingenious corrupters of the original religion of God's people. In the former class of prophets it placed Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Aaron, Moses; in the latter, David and Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and all the writers of the books which it had rejected. The Gnostic Ebionites did not receive the doctrine of the Trinity, but they held the existence of two vaguely divine powers, a male principle, the Son of God, who had been several times incarnate, in Adam first, and last in Jesus Christ, and a female principle, the Holy Spirit.[1] They had what they called

[1] The name by which God chooses to make known to us the Third Person in the Godhead is the Spirit, or Breath, of God. The

a Eucharist, but would not use wine in it; unleavened bread and water were its elements. Of baptisms, or at least of ceremonial purifications with water, they had many. As has been said, they treated the religion of the Jewish Church as an utter corruption of the law of Moses, but they regarded that law in its purity as a law for the whole world. Hence they were as bitter against St. Paul for his defence of Christian freedom as the most intense of the Pharisaic Ebionites could be. They continued the Essene tradition of condemning flesh food, but they allowed and even commended marriage. Another contradiction of the older Essene idea was the utter prohibition of oaths. Their system was very much one of mixtures; baptism and circumcision, the Jewish Sabbath and the Christian Lord's Day, genuine revelation and the merest fancies of superstition, flourished side by side.

How much did this movement affect the real Kingdom of God? It is hard to say. Comparatively speaking, Pharisaic Ebionism was stagnant, and Essene Ebionism was active. Pharisaic Ebionism represented the position of a very small number of Jews, who had come to feel that old religious conditions must suffer change, but who could receive just so much, and no more. They were "slow of heart." They could not keep up with the movement of the age, but they felt no urgency upon them to carry any message to the great world, to try to change

word for "breath" in Hebrew is feminine. Hence the notion, somewhat common among early heresies, of the Holy Ghost as a feminine power.

its course. With Essene Ebionism it was otherwise. It was distinctly an attempt of men who felt that the world needed one great, all-satisfying religion, to find the answer to that need. They constructed something that satisfied themselves so well that they thought that it was really going to satisfy all mankind. Like many "liberal" thinkers of to-day, they thought that they had found those happily selected elements of religion which the heart of man really craves, and they held (rightly enough) that what satisfies permanently and fully the heart of man must be true. Correspondingly, they had the missionary spirit. They wrote books. They went forth seeking converts. We know something of two examples of their literary activity.

(1) Somewhere about A. D. 222 there appeared in Rome, a Syrian named Alcibiades, who brought with him a work called the *Book of Elchesai*. It professed to contain a revelation from heaven as to the means whereby Christians who had fallen into sin after their baptism could obtain forgiveness and renewal. That was a subject in regard to which some of the leaders of the Roman Church were then at deadly strife with one another, and as a means of catching the attention of all Christians nothing could have been better chosen. But the book was no Christian revelation. It was a product of Essenic Ebionism, and really the most interesting thing about it is its date. Its revelation purports to have been given in the third year of Trajan, A. D. 100 or 101. If the members of the sect claimed that their ideas took shape about the end of the first Christian century, it

is obvious that, whether true or false, they could not be presented as the religious teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, nor yet as teachings of His original Apostles.[1] What made such teachings acceptable and dangerous at the time when Alcibiades brought the book of Elchesai to Rome, was the fact that it offered a new salvation to men in whose eyes the salvation of Jesus Christ seemed to be failing. The great question of the Christian mind at Rome just then was the question what could be done with those who had denied Christ under persecution, or otherwise fallen into any deadly sin, after their baptism. Could such be admitted to "renew them again unto repentance"? Or must they be set down as irredeemable failures? There is always a danger that where salvation from sin is preached, some men will think of it as a power so overwhelming that it raises the soul above the need of struggle, and carries it beyond the danger of any dreadful fall. To men who had looked for a salvation so great that a man could not possibly fall out of it, or so narrow that one who had fallen out of it could never lay hold on it again, the discovery that there were such things as

[1] Some German scholars have insisted that this form of Ebionism was the religion of the Twelve, and that the later Christianity was the invention of St. Paul. Hegesippus, the first Church historian, was also claimed as an Ebionite. The foundation for this lay in the account of St. James the Just, the first Bishop of Jerusalem, as quoted by Eusebius from Hegesippus, which simply represents him as a very ascetic person, still obeying the law of Moses, and going, as St. Paul himself used to go, to the Temple to worship. In like manner Clement of Alexandria speaks of St. Matthew as a strict vegetarian and an ascetic. But this only shows that certain practices of the Essene society were such as were likely to commend themselves to any very devout persons in that age and country.

apostasies and deadly moral failures in the Church of Christ would be a real trial of faith, and perhaps any attempted restoration of such, a greater one. Did the salvation of Jesus really save? To men afflicted with such doubts Essenic Ebionism offered its *Hidden Power*—such seems to be the meaning of *Elchesai*, which is probably a representation of two Syriac words—and a new Baptism, with the promise of a more victorious life.

(2) It is not likely that the Ebionite missionaries ever drew away much people after them. Another publication of theirs, however, was destined to affect considerably the Church's mind. In the end of the second century, or the early part of the third, there appeared in various forms as *Clementine Recognitions*, or *Itinerary of St. Clement*, or again as *Clementine Homilies*, a curious story, a sort of religious novel, with Clement of Rome for a hero. The foundation of the tale was a favorite one with story-tellers,—a family consisting of father, mother, and sons, all separated from one another by various disasters, and brought together again in unexpected "recognitions." It is the same story which lies at the base of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, but in the *Pseudo-Clementines* we have one of its dullest forms. A Roman gentleman, Faustus, sends his wife and his twin sons, Faustinus and Faustinianus, to Athens, and they are never heard from. After ten years he leaves his older son, Clement, in the care of friends, and goes on a voyage of enquiry, in which he also disappears from view. Clement, grown to man's

estate, and still a heathen,[1] hears of Christianity through the preaching of St. Barnabas, and is induced to go to Palestine to seek instruction from St. Peter. He hears many discourses from the Apostle, whence the title *Homilies* given to one form of the story, and more especially, he is present at a series of arguments between St. Peter and Simon Magus. Clement meets an old beggar-woman and discovers her to be his mother, who is forthwith converted and baptized. Two former disciples of Simon Magus, converted by St. Peter, are found to be the lost twins, the brothers of Clement, and presently the heathen father is discovered also, and becomes a Christian, completing the family group.

The story is not entertainingly told, and the preachings and arguments are intolerably dull. The book has no interest but in the light which it is able to throw upon the history of the times in which it was written. Its first object was to draw away attention from St. Paul, who is never mentioned by name, to those Apostles who were more narrowly Jewish in their thoughts and ways, and in this connection we note that it is St. James, "the Lord's brother," who is put forward as the leader and prince of the Apostolic company. "James, the Lord and Bishop of Bishops," is his title. He orders St. Peter to go here and there, and directs him to

[1] The real Clement seems certainly to have been of Jewish family (p. 32). That the Judaizing writer of this story did not know that fact, is a particularly curious circumstance, and helps to show how little he knew of Clement anyhow. But plainly also Clement was of obscure origin. When this story reached Rome, nobody there *knew anything to the contrary* about the early history of so great a man,

report his doings to him at Jerusalem annually, and more especially at the end of every seven years. Assuredly no such papal airs were ever assumed by any early Apostle towards another Apostle older in years and service than himself; but this heretical inventor did not expect that Christians would feel any difficulty in reading of St. Peter as thus subordinated to that Apostle who happened to be in local charge of the Church at Jerusalem, the mother of all Churches. Nay though the story was worked over by different hands for Christian use, and cleared more and more of un-Catholic phraseology, this representation of James as head and governor of all the Apostles appears in every version. It was not objected to even at Rome, as infringing upon honors due rather to Simon Peter. However bad its mistakes about the first century and St. James may be, it gives good proof that the Christian mind of the third century was not deeply preoccupied with any corresponding mistake about a Petrine primacy. If there had been such, the exaltation of St. Peter could have been made to suit the forger's purpose just as well as the exaltation of St. James.

But of course there was an object in all this exaggeration of St. James's leadership, and that object was to draw the attention of Christians from Saint Paul to other guides, who might be made to seem to speak with a different voice, with a view to an ultimate attack on the Church's own prevailing theology as a Pauline corruption of the primitive Gospel. There is no such attack in the story itself, but there are cautious steps towards it. Thus both the *Recog-*

nitions and the *Homilies* represent the prince of wickedness as sending forth "Apostles" to deceive, and they extort the faithful to shun "Apostle, or teacher, or prophet," who does not first accurately compare his preaching with that of James. Indeed, the *Recognitions* warns men not to look for any prophet or Apostle besides the Twelve. Again, both forms of the story have a doctrine of *pairs*. As evening is followed by morning, so is evil followed by good, and every revelation from God has regularly had its Satanic forerunner. Cain and Abel, Esau and Jacob, Pharaoh's magicians and Moses, are such pairs. The tempter and the Son of Man form another. Simon Magus and Simon Peter are another. These, it is said in the *Homilies* (xvii. 17), are to be followed by a certain false prophet, and then, "after the removal of the Holy Place," *i. e.*, after the destruction of Jerusalem, there was to be a secret sending abroad of the Gospel. The false prophet certainly meant St. Paul, and the secret revelation seems to point to the Book of Elchesai. In the *Recognitions* (iii. 61) the same pair appears in this form, "the ninth, all nations, and he who shall be sent to sow the word among the nations." It may be that some words are lost, but pretty surely "all nations" refers somehow to St. Paul's doctrine of a Catholic Church generous enough to take in all nations without turning them into Jews, while "he who shall be sent to sow the word among the nations" is the author of the Book of Elchesai again, going among the nations to tell them the terms of salvation more strictly and more truly.

The *Homilies* contains also a passage (xvii. 19) where St. Paul's visions are plainly made a subject of ridicule under cover of an attack on Simon Magus. "If our Jesus appeared to you in a vision, . . . it was as one who is enraged with an adversary." "How are we to believe your word, when you tell us that He appeared to you? And how did He appear to you when you entertain opinions contrary to His teaching? But if you were seen and taught by Him and became His Apostle for a single hour, . . . love His Apostles, contend not with me who companied with Him." "If you were not opposed to me (St. Peter is supposed to be the speaker), you would not accuse me, . . . as if I were evidently a person that was condemned." This is certainly an allusion to St. Paul's resisting St. Peter to the face, "because he stood condemned" (Revised Version of Gal. ii. 11). And a supposed letter of St. Peter to St. James, prefixed to the *Homilies*, speaks of "the man that is my enemy," with pretty certainly the same reference.

And yet all this anti-Pauline allusion was so far from obvious that a faithful Christian would not necessarily suspect that he was reading a heterodox book. As a matter of fact, the Clementine story became exceedingly popular. A Christian editor might occasionally leave out or modify a suspicious-looking passage in the preaching. Probably all our copies have known such tinkerings, just as the Church's most popular hymns are always sung in "improved" versions nowadays. But the utterly fictitious story of St. Clement's relations to St.

Peter and St. James got universal acceptance in the Church as genuine history. It threw into almost hopeless confusion the tradition of the succession of the early bishops of Rome, for how, men asked, could Linus and Anacletus have preceded Clement, if Clement was consecrated bishop by St. Peter himself? It gave a great impetus to the tradition,—if, indeed, it did not actually originate the tradition,—that the bishops of Rome were peculiarly successors of St. Peter in that see. The Ebionite forger never accomplished much of what he really set before himself, but his false mark is deeply impressed on the Church's thought with consequences that remain even to this day.[1]

II. *Gnosticism.* It has been said that the Jewish mind and the heathen mind had each its characteristic perversion of Christianity. The Jewish world was very small. The heathen world was very great. Naturally the heathen perversion surrounded the Church much more manifoldly, hindered the Church much more gravely, distracted the Church's thought much more embarrassingly, than any Ebionite movements. We do not find

[1] In recent years a German scholar has pointed out, in a quarter where it had lain long unthought of, the oddest of all survivals of the Clementine story. Simon Magus became the accepted type of the magician, the man who has dealings with evil spirits, in the mediæval mind. The Clementine legend represented Simon as transforming the old man Faustus into his likeness at one time, to impose upon the people of a certain city. Hence an interchange of names, and in the chief German story of magic arts and wonderful transformations and a pernicious league with the powers of darkness, the magician gets to be known as *Dr. Faustus.* The Faust-legend is really a child of the Ebionite novel, and Faust himself is Simon Magus masquerading under a Christian name.

Christian writers in our period giving more than a small share of thought to Jewish assaults upon Christianity or Jewish perversions of Christianity. We do find the great teachers of the Church deeply occupied with the conflict against Gnostic ideas and Gnostic sects.

Gnosis is the Greek word for "knowledge," or "science." The *Gnostic*, correspondingly, is the man who is supposed to have knowledge beyond the range of common men. As he got his knowledge out of his own head by the simple process of rejecting everything in Apostolic Christianity which did not satisfy his own mind, and adding in everything which did particularly commend itself to him as an answer to the great questions of the universe, there were naturally a great many varieties of him. Thus we hear of the followers of Basilides and of Saturninus, of the Valentinians and of the Marcosians, of the Ophites and of the Naassenes, and many more. It is impossible now to get a clear view of their characteristic differences. It would be useless for our present purpose, if we could. It must suffice to give a notion of some general features of Gnostic thought, and a few illustrations of their working out in particular Gnostic systems.

In the first place, the Gnostic sects stood for the general principle of Rationalism as against the principle of Traditionalism. The modern mind has a prejudice in favor of Rationalism as if it must be rational, and against Traditionalism, as if that must mean the acceptance of everything that has ever been told as a tradition. A distinction more

nearly accurate would be that Rationalism is a method of ingenious fancy, and Traditionalism a method of exact historical science. The historical method appeals to an unbroken chain of testimony as to what the Divine Revealer, Jesus Christ, actually conveyed to His disciples, and regards that as a religion necessarily and infallibly true. The Rationalist method asks whether this or that statement in religion satisfies the enquirer's mind. The Rationalist is profoundly right, we may add, in claiming that no man can really accept anything as true which antagonizes his reason and conscience. But on the other hand, the Traditionalist has just as much reason for suggesting that if a divine revelation does not commend itself to a man's mind, the fault is as likely to be with the mind as with the revelation. A man's reason and conscience ought generally to be satisfied that a thing is true, if there is sufficient historical proof that God has said it. That is the claim of a true Traditionalism. That is the claim which Gnosticism in every age has brushed aside.

In the next place, as the name might suggest, the Gnostic had an exaggerated idea of the value of knowledge. He held, as many do in these days, that education was salvation. All sin was delusion. Even the host of evil spirits were represented as enslaved by error, rather than as wilfully choosing evil when good was before them. As in these days, so in those, the consequences of such a theory were bad. Sin could not appear as "exceeding sinful," when it was explained as a mere folly growing out of imperfect

culture, a fault which better knowledge would certainly do away. The Gnostic in all ages is apt to be strong in the cultivation of some intellectual processes, wise or otherwise, but his pupils will be weak in the cultivation of character.

Another common feature of the Gnostic sects was the habit of regarding matter as evil. That also keeps cropping up in every age, that easy answer to the question of the origin of evil. "The spirit is good," says the Gnostic; "the flesh is bad. Man is dragged down by the imprisonment of his spirit in his body. Deliver him from that bondage, and he will soon, and easily, be perfected." That Gnostic tendency reappears to-day in the popular reception of what is called "Christian Science," which teaches that "matter" is a mere delusion fastened upon the spirit by "mortal mind," a deceiving lower principle, and again in the still more popular opposition to the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, so many preferring to think that a man's true resurrection is a rising out of his body at his death.

These two notions, that knowledge is salvation, and that matter is an evil power which must be shaken off as a condition of passing into a higher state of being, led some high-minded men to devote themselves nobly to "plain living and high thinking." Some of the Gnostic founders were certainly men of devotion and self-denial, running even to an extreme asceticism. But frequently the followers of such teachers ran, after a generation or so, into depths of licentious immorality. The body was an evil thing anyhow. Why try to keep it from doing

evil things? The only course for the true Gnostic was to let his body do as it would, and keep his soul proudly apart, well aware that it was a separate organism, with a distinct character of its own now and a distinct destiny of its own hereafter. Some Gnostic sects, in fact, seem to have started with this doctrine of practical corruption from the very first.

From a deep feeling of the evil of matter came naturally the idea that the Supreme God, the Lord of truth and grace, could not be the Creator of sinful flesh, nor yet of this visible structure of heavens and earth. One hears much in Gnostic systems of the Demiurgus, or Demiurge,—it is a Greek word meaning "World-maker,"—but he is always represented as a rival of the true God, or as a very inferior, and very ignorant and blundering, subordinate. Hence in some Gnostic systems the Creator is the jealous God of the Jews and of the Old Testament, meanly setting himself up against human progress, and against the nobler God of the Christian Revelation. In some such systems the serpent was exalted to a splendid position as the chief representative of light and progress, and the relentless foe of the Demiurge, who tries to hold him down. Hence come such names among Gnostic sects as *Ophites* and *Naassenes*, from the Greek and Hebrew words for "serpent" in Gen. iii. Of course, if the Old Testament Creator was an evil deity, Adam and Eve were true Gnostics in refusing to obey him, and the serpent was a Saviour.

One more feature, common to all Gnostic systems, but working out into the most various results in

different hands, was a certain fashion in the interpretation of Holy Scripture. They approached the Scriptures with preconceived ideas as to what a revelation from God ought to contain. The philosophic thought of that day was intensely eager to know the mystery of the origin of evil, and correspondingly, of the origin of this curiously mixed world of so many good and evil powers. The Christian Scriptures did not offer on the surface any answer satisfactory to such enquirers. Then it must be, argued the Gnostic, that these sacred books contain such an answer *below* the surface. That the Old Testament Scripture was rich in mystical meanings, not at all apparent on the surface of the narrative, was agreed by all who at that time received them as a divine gift. Furthermore,—and this is a key to the understanding of much in the growth of Gnostic theologies,—it had come to pass that in the Christian reading of these ancient books certain names which had passed for ages as standing only for attributes of Almighty God, were now found to be really names of Divine Persons. The Word of God was found to be a Personal Power. The Breath, or Spirit, of God sprang into life in the same way. The Wisdom of God was no longer an abstraction, or an attribute, but a living Personality. Why might not a discerning eye discover a long array of personal forces revealed as helping or hindering the development of the universe, where common men would find nothing but abstract qualities or familiar facts? Once embarked on such a voyage of discovery in the volume of Holy Scripture, each Gnostic system

was liable to find more than any of its predecessors had dreamed of, till that of Valentinus numbered thirty of these mysterious powers, arranged in pairs, a male and a corresponding female in every pair,[1] beginning with *Arrhetus*, or *Bythus*, (the Unspeakable, or the Great Deep), and *Sige* (Silence), and passing on through *Nous* and *Aletheia* (Mind and Truth), *Logos* and *Zoe* (Word and Life). Were such powers anywhere alluded to in Scripture under a common name? "Yes!" said some at least among the Gnostics, "we read here and there mysterious words about *Æons*, as where St. Paul says to the Corinthians (1 Cor. ii. 7), *We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even that hidden wisdom which God ordained before the Æons* [A. V., *before the world*]; or to the Ephesians (Eph. iii. 9, 11), *To make all men see what is the fellowship of the mystery which from the Æons* [A. V., *from the beginning of the world*] *hath been hid in God, . . . according to the purpose of the Æons* [A. V., *eternal purpose*], *which He purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord;* or to the Colossians, (Col. i. 26), *The mystery which hath been hid from the Æons and from the Generations* [A. V., *from ages and generations*]; or again (1 Tim. i. 17) of *the King of the Æons* [A. V., *King eternal*]; and in the Epistle to the Hebrews (i. 2) we find *by whom also He made the Æons* [A. V., *worlds*]. In all these places we find no mere prosaic statement about long periods of

[1] Here was another common Gnostic idea. The revelation that is in the natural world, they would say, shows all new creation to be the result of the union of a male and a female principle. Therefore the original creation must have come about in the same way.

time, but a revelation of personal powers proceeding from the Great First Source of all Being, and growing weaker and more liable to delusion, as they get farther from the great Original in their evolution. What the Supreme God created immediately could not possibly fall into evil, but He has given life to certain beings called Æons, and they in turn to others, and these to still others in a descending scale of power and knowledge. From some of the last and lowest of these powers must have proceeded such disorder and baseness as are seen in our earthly life." Such, we may suppose, would be the defence of a Valentinus, with his thirty Æons, against the charge of putting forth a groundless fancy.

From the general prejudice against matter as evil, it further followed that the Supreme God could not by these wilful enquirers be regarded as having taken human flesh. *The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us*, had to be erased or explained away in a Gnostic Gospel. There were two ways of doing this. Either (1) our Lord's bodily life was treated as a mere illusion of the senses,—He never was truly born, He never had a real body of flesh, He only *seemed* to suffer on the Cross, being all through a bodiless spirit raised serenely above the common experiences of humanity. He never was tired or hungry or sad or indignant or gratified, in all His career,—or else (2) the great Æon Christ was represented as having entered into the man Jesus, either at His conception, or as it was more often taught, at His baptism, and as having left that man of sorrows to his fate, when crucifixion threatened,

and retired again into the *Pleroma* (Fulness), which the Gnostics took to be the name of that part of the universe where evil had no entrance, our lower world being known in contrast as the *Kenoma* (Emptiness). Those Gnostics who held the former view were called *Docetæ* (Visionaries) because they held that our Lord had only a visionary body. It was against them that the passion of faith burned hotly, when St. John was writing his epistles. *Many deceivers are gone forth into the world*, he says, *even they that confess not that Jesus Christ cometh in the flesh. This is the deceiver and the antichrist* (2 John 7). Against them Ignatius also bursts into flame in his letters written on his way to martyrdom. So he says to the Smyrnæans (II.), "He suffered truly, as also He raised Himself truly; not as certain unbelievers say, that He suffered in semblance, being themselves mere semblance." One may wonder whether the bishop of Syria had here a sarcastic reference to one more habit of Gnostic thinkers. They divided men, as indeed St. Paul had done, into two classes, "the pneumatic" and "the psychic." "Spiritual" is the just rendering of one of these words in our English version, but "natural" is a mere misrepresentation of the other. When St. Paul spoke of a "man of the spirit" and a "man of the soul," he meant very nearly "man of conscience" and "man of inclination."[1] But Gnostic teachers, though they had not

[1] So in that famous passage, 1 Cor. xv. 44, St. Paul is contrasting not a material body and an immaterial body, which last is a contradiction in terms, such as a sensible man should be ashamed to catch himself thinking, but a "body of the soul," or body doing as it likes, with all the evil consequences of such doing, and

the help of our absurd English contrast of "spiritual" and "natural" to put people on the wrong track, certainly made out the "man of spirit" to be raised above the sympathies and the fair partnership of the flesh in a way that St. Paul would have condemned. They made a third class of "hylic" men, or "men of matter," bringing in just that contrast of spirit and matter which St. Paul did not suggest in his "spiritual" and "psychical," and they quite taught that a man could not be a thoroughly good specimen of spirit, while he continued to live in a body at all. To such Ignatius seems to say, "You may believe what you please about your own bodies. You may get rid of them altogether. Certainly your teaching has no substance to it. It is a mere ghost of a Gospel. But my Saviour is real. His suffering for me was real. His death was real. You may be set down as mere phantoms in your false spirituality. Our Jesus Christ is a real man."

And yet Gnosticism represented what humanity liked just then to believe, and therefore it was believed very widely. Beginning before the Apostolic Age was closed, and apparently in Syria, it spread fast and far. Just because it was an embodiment of what men felt like thinking at the time, it was constantly shifting and changing, never appearing in two countries in exactly the same form, never transmitted from one generation to another without change. Gnostic rationalism, being the play of self-

a "body of the spirit," or body yielding itself to the control of conscience, and doing as it ought. Why should a body of the spirit be supposed to be less material than a body of the soul?

indulgent fancy that it was, had no more history than the succession of cloud-shadows that flit across a hill-side on a summer morning. Both the clouds and the fancies are bound by natural laws, no doubt, but they do not make a story that the mind of man can follow. Occasionally a picturesque figure stands out from the confusion. Such was Nicolas, if it be really true,—the traditions on the subject are greatly divided, and very uncertain,—that he was one of the Hellenist deacons set apart by the Apostles in the honorable companionship of Stephen and Philip (Acts vi.), and that afterwards he became the founder of that sect of the Nicolaitans, of whose deeds and doctrines our Lord's own saying is, *Which thing I hate* (Rev. ii. 6, 15). "The flesh must be abused," was one of his sayings, according to Clement of Alexandria, who is presumably good authority, and he is represented as a passionate, unbalanced soul, who being rebuked by the Apostles for bitter jealousy of his beautiful wife, flew to a wild extreme of self-renunciation, and offered to give her up to any man who would take her from him. "The flesh must be abused" meant to him an extreme asceticism, and Clement bears witness that he and his children after him lived good lives. But it does seem as if some persons claiming to be his followers used the same formula to cover shameless immorality and extreme self-indulgence.

Another picturesque figure is that of Marcion, son of a bishop in Pontus, and himself a man of earnest purpose and blameless in morals, but wholly unready to submit himself to the revelation of the Christian

faith. Excommunicated by his own father, he makes his way to Rome, preaching with much acceptance his doctrine of two gods, the god of the Jews, responsible for creation and for the Old Testament, and the greater god who had now sent the light of Christianity, intending to save men from the bondage of material things, and from the fear and service of the creator of them. At Rome, in A. D. 153 or 154, he meets an old friend of his father's and his own, Polycarp, the venerable bishop of Smyrna, come on an important errand which we shall consider in another connection. "Dost thou not recognize me?" he cries, as his sweet-natured old friend passes by him without salutation in a public place. "I recognize the firstborn of Satan," was the stern reply. The story is unlovely. Perhaps Marcion was noble in his mistakes, was really helping the world towards Jesus Christ by his unselfish moral earnestness, and ought to have had from one of Christ's bishops sympathy, rather than reproach, when he could not believe. But after all Polycarp knew more of Marcion's movement than we do, and at least the story shows what Gnosticism meant to him. It was not merely a dangerous bar to the progress of the Christian Kingdom, not merely a fascinating delusion which might draw even the children of the Kingdom, like Marcion himself, from light to darkness,—more than all this it was an intellectual sin. It was a disloyalty, a disservice, whereby a man refused to serve God with his mind. It is worth while to remember that Polycarp was so far right, as that unbelief, often a misfortune of the judgment, *may* also be in some cases a fault of the will.

There is no evil out of which good does not somehow come. Out of the confusion and strife of the Gnostic systems the Church gained much at the time, and ought to gain something now. At the time Gnostic criticism helped to clarify Catholic tradition. It forced Christian men to face the questions, "What do we know?" and "Why do we believe?" It was of inestimable value to the Church to be obliged to begin to contend earnestly for the faith before there was any possibility that her leaders could have forgotten what the faith was. It is just that strife about the *Gnosis*, so early and so bitter, that enables us to depend confidently upon the tradition of the Catholic Faith to-day.

For us in these modern times there is a further gain in the calling up of this Gnostic nonsense of seventeen or eighteen centuries ago. It shows us how little the spirit of the age can be trusted to meet the religious needs of the age. Gnosticism was folly, but it was not the work of fools. It represents the best work that some of the best minds of that age could do in providing themselves with a religion, when God's religion did not suit them. Our age is another age of restlessness, of fanciful speculation, of religion-making. Again an enormous value is set on knowledge, on education. Again men are looking for a religion that can meet their wants. The old religion which alone succeeded in meeting men's needs in the second and third centuries, will alone meet any real needs of the nineteenth century, or even of the twentieth.

CHAPTER VIII.

THREE INTERIOR STRIFES: THE PASCHAL QUESTION; MONTANISM; SABELLIANISM.

PERSECUTIONS by the heathen state, distractions from the preaching of rival new religions, these exterior difficulties in the Church's way have occupied us. We must now give attention to three interior strifes which disturbed the Church's peace in the close of the second and the beginning of the following century. The first of these controversies was concerned with a purely ecclesiastical, one might almost say, a ritual question, as to the time when the Church should keep its annual commemoration of the Lord's death and resurrection. The third was about a purely theological question, the right statement of the doctrine of the Being of God in the Blessed Trinity. The second, that of Montanism, raised a question harder to describe. Perhaps it may best be called a constitutional question, for though both doctrines and practices were concerned, the issue was not so much whether any particular doctrine was true, or any particular practice obligatory, as whether the Christian revelation of infallible truth was a full and final one, or rather the beginning of an indefinite series, to which equally infallible additions might be made at any time. Each of

these three controversies will bring before us a great theological writer, a man of real leadership. In the first and third cases the great man will be ranged on the right side of the controversy. In the second, unhappily, we shall find the splendid powers of the North African master, Tertullian, betrayed into the service of error.

I. Our first subject must be what is known as the Quartodeciman Controversy. Our Lord was crucified and rose from the dead, when the Jewish Church was keeping its annual festival of the Passover. From that time forth every return of that festival season would naturally affect the mind of a Jewish Christian with profound and tender stirrings of remembrance of the Evangelical history. For many years after our Lord's death some such Christians must have gone on keeping the Passover in their old fashion, only with an immensity of new meaning, knowing that Jesus Christ had suffered as the true Paschal Lamb, and that this celebration was but one of many forms by which men had been taught to show His death. Now, according to Jewish law, the lamb for the Passover was killed on the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, that is, on the day of the full moon next following the vernal equinox, and the supper was eaten on that evening after sunset, which by Jewish reckoning would be in the first hours of the fifteenth day. It was natural for Jewish Christians, trained to regard the fourteenth of Nisan as a day of fasting, and to burst into festal joy in the first hours of the fifteenth, to do much the same thing year after year in their new position,

commemorating our Lord's death with a solemn fast, longer or shorter, but bringing this fast to an end, and joyfully celebrating the resurrection, as soon as that hour was come when by ancient tradition all Israel was called to celebrate their deliverance out of the bondage of Egypt. Certainly that deliverance was a foreshadowing of the resurrection of Jesus Christ from His tomb in the rock as well as of the resurrection of His people to spiritual life. From such an observance all who kept this form of Christian Passover came to be known as *Quartodecimans*, observers of the fourteenth day. This custom had the sanction of St. John, and was particularly strongly entrenched in the Roman province of Asia, where his influence was most powerful in forming religious fashions. Probably the earliest custom was to have something like a Passover supper[1] in the evening, when the fifteenth day was understood to have begun, passing on into a celebration of the Eucharist. Later, we may suppose that the rejoicing would begin with an evening feast in private houses, and culminate in the Easter Eucharist early on the next morning. But about these matters of detail we have no information.

Meanwhile another use had sprung up in the Church, notably in the great city of Rome, whose people were much accustomed to giving the law to their neighbors, in fashions, as in everything else. This rival usage was that with which we are familiar,

[1] Of course, it was only in Jerusalem, and only while the Temple stood, that any Jews, Christian or other, could have eaten the paschal lamb.

which notes that our Lord died on the sixth day of the week and rose on the eighth, or next recurring first day, and holds the annual commemoration to these days, to what we call Friday and Sunday. It was the natural course for Gentile Christians to follow. To them the Passover was hardly more than a name, and as the first day of every week was kept as a feast of the Lord's resurrection, it was the obvious thing to do to take one of those same Sundays every spring for the greater, annual feast of the resurrection.

Certainly it seems a far more desirable practice, more historical, more dramatic. But however much better our familiar practice of keeping Easter always on a Sunday may be, it was distinctly a practice that arose among Gentile Christians, and it seems never to have had claimed for it the authority of any of the Apostles. To all appearance, it must have grown up out of the independent common sense of some of the Churches of the West against an absolutely universal tradition based on a unanimous Apostolic consent. The new movement, however, was a movement in a popular direction. Jewish influence was falling lower and lower in the Church of the early second century. Bitterness against anything that could be called "Judaizing" was rising higher and higher. The innovation spread. The Quartodeciman use became more and more rare. Even in Palestine, after Jerusalem gave place to Ælia Capitolina, with a Gentile Church, and Gentile names in its list of bishops, the Quartodeciman Easter must nearly have disappeared, for Eusebius,

who lived in Palestine himself, declares that it came to be limited to the Churches of "Asia," *i. e.*, of the Roman province of that name.

But there in Western Asia Minor the rising tide of change came to an impassable barrier, and hence after a time came strife. At first men had contended about the new scheme with no thought but for their immediate preferencs, to be saved, or sacrificed, as the case might be. Later the Church woke up to the fact that the different issues of the struggle in different lands constituted a result which was a scandal. Different Churches were keeping Easter on different days. A Christian might leave Ephesus fresh from the joy of his Easter Communion, and find the brethren in Corinth still keeping their fast for the Lord's death. Was it really a scandal? The men of those days thought so, and it brings out vividly their deep sense of the oneness of the Church of Christ, as a Catholic organization, single and indivisible in all its spreading life. They actually felt their own oneness with one another so much that it was a source of shame and grief, and hence of bitterness, that the widely separated Churches of Gaul, Italy, North Africa, Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, Syria, should not all keep their annual commemoration of the Resurrection on the same day!

So early as the middle of the century the ugliness of this difference had come to be keenly felt, and the blessed Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, though bowed with the burden of his many years of service, made a journey to Rome, and there discussed the matter with Anicetus, lately made bishop of the Roman

Christians.[1] "Observing" and "not observing" were the watchwords on either side, having reference to the observance or non-observance of the Passover day, Nisan 14. To Polycarp and those whom he represented it seemed intolerable that they should be asked to set aside the Apostolic practice and direction. To Anicetus and to the leaders of the Church generally, it seemed too unreasonable that an improvement so great that it had commended itself to well-nigh the whole Church should be given up, simply because the Apostles had not thought of it before they died. Polycarp could not bring Anicetus to observe the Jewish feast-day, and Anicetus could not persuade Polycarp not to observe it, but the difference, though a cause of sorrow, was not allowed to make a breach of peace. The new bishop of Rome was even ready to grant that Christians from Asia, living temporarily in Rome, might keep their separate Easter uninterfered with, a great concession in view of the feeling of the day about matters of external unity, and further invited his brother of Smyrna to celebrate the Eucharist in his place, the highest token of Christian fellowship which one bishop could give another.

Such was the settlement of saints, but settlements

[1] The martyrdom of Polycarp took place in February, 155, and the accession of Anicetus cannot be placed earlier than 153. It seems probable that Polycarp went to Rome on purpose to see if a new bishop could not be persuaded to adopt a new policy for the peace and honor of the Church. That this visit was made at Easter-tide, as asserted by Bishop Lightfoot (*Clement of Rome*, i. 342, but not in *Ignatius and Polycarp*, i. 449, 450), is a conclusion not warranted by the words of Irenæus, who says simply that neither persuaded the other to change his practice, not that they did practise their differing customs then and there.

made by saints are rarely final in Church controversy. The rank and file of Christians, whose sanctification has had very little development, and who have still a good deal of narrow meanness in their hearts, have something to say. They say it, and the controversy boils up again. Anicetus and Polycarp had agreed to differ, and the martyrdom of Polycarp, following probably within a year, had hallowed that agreement, and sealed it as with holy blood. Then for a few years persecution was particularly active, and an external pressure forced Christians to think of something deeper than their differences of opinion, and drove them heart to heart. But in about ten years we hear of trouble again, and this time in the province of Asia. A party is forming even there, down on the southeastern border, who want to do as the rest of the Church does. Melito, bishop of Sardis, whom we have mentioned as an Apologist (p. 161), wrote two books on the *Pascha*,[1] because "a great strife had arisen over this question in Laodicea, after the bishop Sagaris had suffered martyrdom, the *Pascha* having fallen opportunely in those days." "Fallen *opportunely*" must be the meaning rather than "according to rule" (as in Dr. McGiffert's *Eusebius* iv., 26,) for the Passover fell "according to rule" every year. Probably the reference is to a coincidence of the

[1] *Pascha* was the word used by Greek and Latin speakers to represent the Hebrew word for "Passover." It was used by Christians also for their Easter, the Christian Passover, whether they kept it by a Jewish rule or otherwise. Good Friday and even Holy Week came to be called the *Pascha Staurosimon*, or Pasch of the Crucifixion, and Easter Day and the week following the *Pascha Anastasimon*, or Pasch of the Resurrection.

two rules, so that the Jewish Feast fell on the Sunday which by the other reckoning was Easter Day, March 26, A. D.164. That year Laodicea had kept Easter on the same day with Christians in the next province. There was probably an attempt to get a new bishop to adopt a new policy, and the approach of the next Easter was the natural occasion for the great strife. Melito's books on the Quartodeciman side are lost, but we have preserved to us two little fragments of a work written by Claudius Apolinarius, bishop of the Phrygian Hierapolis, six miles away from Laodicea. He seems to represent the innovators down on the border, who wanted to be like the rest of the world, while Melito from Sardis, seventy-seven miles up in the interior, does not feel the pressure of any world but his own. Bishop Claudius is inclined to carry things with a high hand, as controversalists often do, in condemning nearly the whole Church of his province as ignorant and mistaken, but it must be remembered that they in turn faulted nearly the whole Catholic Church, so that the temptation to be disrespectful was very great.

"There are, then," he says, "some who raise disputes about these things (though their conduct is pardonable, for ignorance is no subject of blame, it rather needs further instruction), and say that on the fourteenth day the Lord ate the lamb with the disciples, and that He suffered Himself on the great day of unleavened bread, and they quote Matthew as speaking in accordance with their view. Wherefore their notion is inconsistent with the law, and

the Gospels seem, according to them, to be at variance."

Our writer is here alluding to a question which still divides scholars,—whether our Lord ate the Last Supper by anticipation a day before the regular time, and died Himself on Nisan 14, at the time of the slaying of the paschal lambs for that year, or rather ate the Passover according to rule, observing the type of His own death, just as He had in years before, obeying the law on Thursday and fulfilling it on Friday. The Synoptic Gospels taken alone would certainly suggest the latter idea, that our Lord ate a real Passover on the night that followed the slaying of the lambs, and died the next afternoon. Some passages in the Gospel according to St. John are taken as implying the other idea. Now Claudius Apolinarius knew of the presence of these two opposite notions in the Church as long ago as his times, and was perfectly sure that our Lord suffered on the fourteenth day, and that the Gospel according to St. John said so. But it is a noticeable fact that he ascribes the other idea of the story to his opponents of the Quartodeciman party. Though he says that according to them the Gospels were at variance, we may be very sure that they had an interpretation which made the Gospels agree. Hence we gain from Bishop Claudius the assurance that the very people among whom St. John ended his days, and who cherished his memory with most pride, regarded his Gospel as meaning that our Lord ate a real Passover, and died on Nisan 15, the view which

has on the whole prevailed in the Church.[1] In saying that our Lord did not eat any Passover in that last year of His life, the bishop of Hierapolis was probably much mistaken, but we can better sympathize with him in the argument of his other remaining paragraph, where he is setting forth, apparently, that our Lord fulfilled in Himself all that the Passover ever meant. It runs on this wise:

"[He is] the fourteenth day, the true Passover of the Lord, the great Sacrifice, the Son of God instead of the lamb. He that was bound, and bound the strong man, judged, though Judge of quick and dead, given up into the hands of sinners to be crucified; He that was lifted up on the horns of the unicorn, and pierced in His holy side; He that shed out of His side the two elements that restore cleansing, water and blood, Word and Spirit, and was buried on the day of the Passover, with a stone laid on His tomb."

It would be interesting, but perhaps not historical, to guess what Claudius meant by allegorizing the water and blood from our Lord's side into "Word and Spirit." We can stay but to note that this second stage of controversy is one of argument on supposed grounds of principle, and that it indicates a certain sharpening of temper to mention publicly that one's opponents are pardonable, and so pass on to the third stage. It was some twenty-five years in coming, and it seems to have been brought on by

[1] Dr. Edersheim, learned in Jewish tradition, takes the same view as to the day of our Lord's suffering, (*Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 567, 568).

Victor, consecrated as bishop of the Roman Christians, A. D. 188 or 189. We hear of numerous councils of bishops about this time, representing various districts, and all urging unanimity in obeying the common rule. Some one, probably the new bishop of Rome, had been asking for united action and fresh pressure, but the Churches of "Asia" stood firm. Mild measures failing, Victor, as bishop of the leading city of the world, undertook to lead the way into a new course of action. He announced his intention of cutting off from Christian fellowship all Churches which should continue to observe the Quartodeciman Easter. Their clergy were not to be granted any privileges at Rome, nor would any clergyman from Rome minister at any of their schismatic altars. The members of such Churches were not even to be admitted to Communion, if they came to Rome, nor Roman Christians allowed to receive the Sacrament from them when abroad. It was the first time that such a threat had been uttered. A single bishop here or there might have fallen into heresy or immorality, and his fellow-bishops might have had to warn the flock that the Church's communion was withdrawn from him, and from all that should cling to him under such a condemnation. But that the Church of one province should refuse its fellowship to the Church of another province was a thing unknown.

What was the effect of such a pronouncement on the part of the bishop of Rome? As regards what Victor was aiming at, it was simply *nil*. The province of Asia did not change its paschal use one

hair's breadth till the time of the Council of Nicæa, 130 years later. That council, with its 300 bishops gathered from all the Christian world, calling the Church to assert its unbroken unity against Arianism, and at the same time making that unity to be felt with a sudden passion of joy and pride and thankfulness, as it had never been before, decreed that the Christian Easter must be one everywhere, and laid down a rule for it, and then the stubborn minority gave way. Even so the historian Eusebius wrote it down that only God and the Emperor Constantine could have accomplished this blessed result. Certainly, Victor carried off no victory.

Yet in another direction this vain pronouncement was most effective. It brought out clearly for all men to read in after times that the Catholic Church of the second century knew nothing of any papacy. The bishop of Rome urged the bishops of a certain province to conform to a nearly universal custom of the Church. They stiffly refused. He threatened them with excommunication, and they paid no attention to the threat. But the Christian world generally was not shocked at their paying so little heed to the Roman bishop. It was shocked at the Roman bishop for using such a wicked threat to enforce an attempt to invade men's Christian liberty. Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, presiding in the council of his province, wrote to Victor in the name of his brother bishops a manly letter in which the sense of perfect equality with the bishop of Rome and entire independence of him is finely blended with a scrupulous courtesy of utterance.

"We observe," he says, "the genuine day, neither adding to nor taking from it. For in Asia great lights have fallen asleep, which shall rise again in the day of the Lord's appearing, when He shall come with glory from heaven, and raise up all the saints: Philip, one of the Twelve Apostles, who sleeps in Hierapolis, and his two daughters who grew old in the estate of virginity; his other daughter also, who having lived her life in the Holy Spirit, now rests likewise at Ephesus; John, moreover, that rested on the bosom of our Lord, who bore the responsibility of priesthood, wearing the *petalon*,[1] and was both witness and teacher. He fell asleep at Ephesus. Polycarp also, who was bishop and martyr at Smyrna, and Thraseas, bishop and martyr from Eumenia, who fell asleep at Smyrna. But why should I mention Sagaris, bishop and martyr, who fell asleep at Laodicea? and still further the blessed Papirius, and Melito, the eunuch that lived his life altogether in the Holy Spirit, who now lies at Sardis awaiting the visitation of the Bishop from heaven, when he shall rise again from the dead? All these observed the paschal fourteenth day according to the Gospel, in no respect deviating, but following the rule of faith. And so do I also, who am the least among you all, Polycrates, according to the tradition of my kinsfolk, who are among those that I have followed.

[1] The *petalon* was the golden plate on the front of the high-priest's mitre, bearing the words, "Holiness unto the Lord." It is questioned whether St. John really did wear a mitre like the Jewish high-priests, to assert his claim to be the holder of a similar office in the Christian Israel, or whether Polycrates meant only to say in a highly figurative fashion that St. John did hold such an office.

For seven of my kinsfolk were bishops, and I am the eighth, and always my kinsfolk kept the day when the Jews threw away the leaven. I, therefore, brethren, having lived sixty-five years in the Lord, and met with brethren from all over the world, and gone through all Holy Scripture, am not terrified by your words of fear. For some that are greater than I have said, 'We ought to obey God rather than men.' I might make mention," he adds, "of the bishops that attended, whom you desired me to summon (and I did so), whose names, if I should write them, would be a multitude; who recognizing my personal insignificance, gave their assent to my letter, knowing that I do not bear a hoary head for nought, but have lived my life always in the Lord Jesus."

"Thereupon," says Eusebius, "Victor, the chief of the Romans, attempts to cut off from the common unity as heterodox the parishes of all Asia in a body, together with the Churches in their neighborhood, and he placards them by letters, proclaiming all the brethren in that region utterly excommunicate." This loud and ambitious proclamation is spoken of as an "attempt." It certainly does not mean that Victor thought of excommunicating the Churches of "Asia," and gave it up. No! He really did send letters and "placard" them as "utterly excommunicate." But this was an "attempt," because when he had done all, he had done nothing. Neither the bishop of Rome nor any other bishop could cut off whole Churches from the common unity, unless the Churches of the common unity pretty generally

agreed with him. It did not make so very much difference to Ephesus that Rome would not communicate with her, if Gaul and Africa and Egypt and Syria and Mesopotamia and Cilicia and Pontus and Achaia all came round, and said, "It is not right, and we shall communicate with you just the same." That is what most of the bishops seem to have done. "Words of theirs are extant," says Eusebius, "sharply rebuking Victor." It is the more notable, because in the original controversy nearly the whole Christian world was with Victor. The Churches generally thought "Asia" was behaving badly, but when the Roman bishop proposed to excommunicate a foreign Church, they refused to follow his lead. The spokesman of the Catholic position, and real leader of the Church's thought, was Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, who sent out letters in the name of his provincial council of bishops, urging that the feast of the Lord's resurrection should everywhere be kept on the Lord's Day, but also "admonishing Victor that he should not cut off whole Churches of God, which observed the tradition of an ancient custom."

"For the controversy," said this wise man, well worthy of his beautiful name of Irenæus, "the man of peace,"—"the controversy is not only concerning the day, but also concerning the very manner of the fast. For some think that they should fast one day, others two, yet others more; some, moreover, count their day as consisting of forty hours, day and night. And this variety in its observance has not originated in our time, but long before, in that of our ancestors, who probably did not have very exact rules, and

so made a custom for their posterity according to their own simplicity and individual notions. Yet all of these lived none the less in peace, and we also live in peace with one another, and the disagreement in regard to the fast confirms the agreement in the faith" (*Eusebius* v. 24).

At the Council of Nicæa the rule was made which still obtains, that Easter shall be the Sunday next following the full moon which falls upon, or next after, the day of the vernal equinox, now reckoned to be the twenty-first day of March. Even this rule was not quite an end of controversy. The astronomical science of those days could not make calendars that would last many years without getting out of order. Churches might differ as to the day of the vernal equinox, and as to the day of the full moon. Thus, when the conversion of Saxon England was in progress, the Celtic missionaries from Scotland were called Quartodecimans by the missionaries from Rome and Gaul, because they reckoned the fourteenth day from the new moon as the day of full moon, while the common custom of the Church was to take the fifteenth day. For many years after the Council of Nicæa it was the custom for the bishops of Alexandria, a city famous for its astronomers, to send out what were called "Festal Epistles" year by year, announcing on what day Easter was to be kept. Of course, it was a matter of great convenience to accept some one man's calculation, right or wrong, rather than to leave different people to pronounce different judgments and throw the Church into discord once more; but let us imagine what would have

been made of it, if the bishops of Rome had been entrusted with this office, of telling all the other Churches of Christendom when they should keep their Easter feast. It may be added that the Greek, Russian, and all the Oriental Churches, not having received what is known as the Gregorian calendar, are twelve days behind us in their reckoning, their April 20, for instance, being our May 2, and their December 25 our January 6, while they also differ from us as to the place of the vernal equinox in the year. Roman and Anglican Christians have one Easter everywhere, which cannot fall earlier than March 22, nor later than April 25.

II. *Montanism.* In the Quartodeciman controversy the storm-centre lay over the province of Asia. While that controversy was in the first heat of discussion, there arose in the same region another difficulty more painful and perilous by far. It was the movement called by modern writers Montanism, from the name of its founder, Montanus, but known in its own day as the Phrygian (or Cataphrygian) Heresy. The older name suggests a difficulty which besets missionary work in every age. Real success in Christianizing a people can come only through respecting the genius of that people and giving it free play. Early Greek Christianity must have a different tone from early Roman Christianity, and either of them from modern English Christianity, just as it is reasonable and necessary that Japanese Christianity should grow to have a very different tone from that of the American and English missionaries that carried the Gospel there. And yet there are limits to be observed by

wise leaders. A degraded people will want to make an amalgam of the Gospel of Christ and their own degradations. A people trained up in a false philosophy will be in great danger of corrupting the Gospel of Christ into a false theology. Changing Christ's religion to meet national prejudices is not to adapt it to national needs.

Now the Phrygians were one of the most peculiar peoples that Christianity encountered in its first three centuries. Originally a race of warriors, carving out for themselves a considerable kingdom in the midst of Asia Minor, they had fallen into effeminate weakness, and become the prey of a series of conquests in their turn, till "Phrygia" had come to be a term of no significance whatever politically, and of doubtful meaning geographically,[1] and the name of "Phrygian" had come to be a synonym for "slave." It is reasonable to believe that the religion of Phrygia had something to do with the degradation of its people. It was a nature-worship, regarding life perpetually reproducing itself as the great divine fact of the universe, and the process of generation as the great, constant triumph over the arch-enemy, death. The earth, the great sustainer of all life, was deified by them, as the Great Mother, ready to receive and quicken the seed of every sower. Under whatever name, as Leto, Cybele, Demeter, Artemis, she was a

[1] Professor Ramsay seems to have shown (*Church in the Roman Empire before A. D. 170*, pp. 74–81) that the name Phrygia covered in St. Paul's day a district in the southeastern part of the province of Asia and some small part of the province of Galatia. Iconium (Acts xiii. 51; xiv. 1) was a Phrygian town geographically, and Lystra and Derbe (Acts xiv. 6) were cities of Lycaonia; but all were of the province of Galatia politically.

Goddess of Liberty, as knowing no law but that of nature, no restraint but that of force. Her worship was a debauchery, her priestesses were consecrated to prostitution, the one thing forbidden them as an impurity in their term of service being the relation of lawful marriage, which might imply a restraint upon the freedom of the goddess in her servants.[1] The Phrygian liberty was a freedom from order and law. It taught men to cultivate every natural passion and emotion rather than to restrain it. It produced a people degraded by dissipation from the standing of a tribe of conquerors to the level of a feeble folk, emotional, excitable, hysterical. The Southern Negro of the United States, with his passion for freedom, his actual servility, his low moral standards, his intense religiousness, his curious insensibility to the connection between religion and morals, his emotionalism, his love of that sort of nervous excitement that comes only to human beings acting upon one another in a crowd, his sensitiveness to the charms of music, and running through all, the tinge of bitterness that comes to a race that knows itself regarded as inferior, may serve to give the modern reader some idea of what the Phrygian race was like seventeen centuries ago.

When Christianity began to make its way among such a people, it was of necessity that they should

[1] It is sufficiently curious that the modern notion of the Goddess of Liberty, with her liberty-pole and liberty-cap, the last the ancient Phrygian headdress, was adopted in the tumult of the French Revolution, and has been borrowed by later Republics, from this Phrygian worship of licentious lawlessness under the name of freedom.

be particularly interested in two of its features, its prophesyings and its speaking with tongues. There is reason to believe that these were tremendous emotional experiences. "The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets," says St. Paul (1 Cor. xiv. 32), but that very warning implies the existence of persons who needed it, because, when such a power seized them, they did not try to control themselves, but abandoned themselves to excited feeling. "If it is a divine power, why should we not give up ourselves to it?" says the Phrygian temper. St. Paul's answer would plainly have been, "Because your power is given to exalt your whole being, reason and judgment and conscience as well as feeling, and if you give yourself to follow feeling alone, you will be giving up the divine guidance, and using heavenly powers without heavenly direction." The Phrygian temper was singularly unready to learn that lesson. It had a craving for unregulated excitement. It loved the display of power better than its restraint. To such a temper the gradual failure of "prophesyings" and "tongues" out of the Church's life would be a sore trial. What more likely than that among such a people there should be a straining after the prophetic exaltation, abuse of it where it was genuinely bestowed, stubborn unwillingness to do without it, and hence artificial imitations of the divine gift resulting from mere human excitements, and finally an imperious demand that whatever came to these self-willed manufacturers of prophecy should be accepted as a message of God to the Church?

Amid such conditions, somewhat after the middle

of the second century,—it must have been after the death of Polycarp, or we should have his great authority quoted in some connection with the strife,—the Churches of "Asia" began to be agitated by the alleged revelations given out by one Montanus, a somewhat recent convert to Christianity, but formerly, if we may trust writers living two centuries afterward, a eunuch priest of Cybele. Of heresy, in the modern meaning of the word, there was none in his prophesyings. He accepted faithfully the Christian faith of the past, but he proclaimed the opening of a new dispensation. That of Moses had been succeeded by that of our Lord Jesus Christ, but now a yet more glorious day was dawning. There was to be a dispensation of the Holy Ghost. The promised Paraclete had not fully come heretofore. Now He was beginning to speak freely and was to raise the Church to new and larger life. The flame of this prophetic frenzy spread. Two women, Priscilla and Maximilla, left their husbands and joined Montanus, to be enrolled with the honorable title of "virgins" among his followers. Under the leadership of these three there grew up a movement of really dangerous magnitude.

Not that the things propounded as new revelations were very bad, or very important, in themselves. That two more fasts were to be kept in the Church's year besides that which we know as Lent, that the fasts of Wednesday and Friday should run till sunset instead of mid-afternoon, that second marriages should be absolutely forbidden to Christians, that persons excommunicated for certain grave offences

should never be restored to the Church's fellowship in this life, these might be unhealthy developments in the Church's evolution, but it would have been much more unhealthy for the Church to condemn any man for preaching that such regulations were desirable. Obviously, the question was a far deeper one than that. If the Holy Spirit spake through Montanus in his ecstasies, then the whole Church must submit—not to this or that particular proposal, but—to whatever Montanus or his prophetesses might say hereafter. Was the Church left by our Lord Jesus Christ with a full and final revelation of necessary beliefs, which it had only to preserve and study, and growingly to appreciate, or with an imperfect and insufficient revelation, waiting to be enlarged by special revelations given from time to time to favored teachers? Was the Church left by Jesus Christ with full power and authority to govern itself, subject to certain laws and rules laid down beforehand for the Apostles' guidance, and expected to meet the responsibilities of its future growth by the use of its best judgment, but always with a liability to make mistakes? Or was the Church left to wait upon the testimonies of persons who had abdicated reason and self-control, that from such unregulated utterances it might learn to regulate itself? The wise answer reached by the Church of the second century was practically this: We are not to expect from Almighty God any further revelations, whether of truth or of duty, rising above the level of suggestions offered to the Church's conscience. The prophet who professes to have received any new truth, or

any new law, wherewith to limit the freedom of the Catholic Church, stands self-condemned. So one may interpret the Church's condemnation of Montanus.

Another point settled for the Catholic Church was that a prophet must not speak in an *ecstasy*. This was a great word with the followers of Montanus. It was a Greek word, implying that a man was "moved out of himself." Naturally, it had a wide range of meaning. It could be used to express "amazement," as in the Greek translation of Ps. xxxi. 22, cxvi. 11, (Prayer Book Version, xxxi. 24, cxvi. 10), where the King James Version gives, "I said in my haste." It might represent a swoon or some other loss of consciousness, as in the LXX Version of Gen. ii. 21, where it stands for what we call "a deep sleep." It might be used of a spiritual exaltation such as St. John must have had, when he was "in the Spirit," and saw visions of God. Again, it might be used of a man beside himself. The Montanists insisted on giving it the meaning of a frenzy, such as their prophets indulged in, in which a man lost all control of himself. A prophet had no freedom in their view, and no responsibility. He was like a musical instrument, of which the Holy Spirit swept the strings and played what melody He would. Then said the Church, "No prophet of God has any right to speak in such a condition as that. The sprits of the prophets must be subject to the prophets, always and everywhere."

This decision seems sober and wise, it is interesting as showing what the Church believed concerning

the inspiration and the freedom of the Old Testament writers, and it seems to represent exactly the teaching of the Church's leaders in the century before.[1] In one point, however, the line taken by the authorities is regrettable. They condemned the "prophesyings" as the work of evil spirits. Probably such an opinion was inevitable at that time. The boundaries between natural and supernatural workings of the human mind were little understood. Most men felt obliged to find the cause of an ecstasy in some outside power. If it was not of God, it must be of Satan. We of to-day can see two other alternatives. These ravings may have been purely human utterances. It was all a matter of self-delusion. Again, it is quite possible that some of these people may have had a real gift of God, and abused it through misunderstanding of the divine order, with a ming-

[1] Some modern writers regard Montanus as a conservative trying to maintain the old simplicity of the Church against a party of successful innovators. Prophesying in an ecstasy, they would say, had been a common thing in the earlier days. Just now the rising priestly caste were trying to put down the old freedom of prophesying. Montanus represents the old-fashioned Christians who did not like ecclesiasticism. The answer to this suggestion is twofold. First, it is true that in St. Paul's day prophets spoke "in an ecstasy," but the word "ecstasy" meant for them a spiritual exaltation, not a foaming, hysterical, irrational fit. "Subject to the prophets." That saying marks the difference between prophesyings under St. Paul and prophesyings under Montanus. Secondly, Montanus himself, so far from being an opposer of what is called ecclesiasticism, was particularly fond of it. When he and his followers were cut off from the communion of the Church, they had what they considered revelations, bidding them to set up a new Church, and to found a holy city, to be the beginning of the New Jerusalem on earth, in a little Phrygian village called Pepuza. There they had a Patriarch, centuries before such a title was anywhere used in the Catholic body, and officers called *Cenones*, whatever that may mean, besides the bishops and presbyters and deacons of the older order.

ling of vanity and self-will. If the spirit of a real prophet is always subject to the prophet, it follows that in any age a genuine gift of inspiration may be used very much amiss. But the mind of the second century was apt to see no alternative but to accept these prophets as heavenly guides, or to disown them as instruments of Satan.

Of course this unjust dilemma drove some men into Montanism. They knew that certain good men and women were not victims of evil spirits. Therefore they had to take them as messengers of God. But Catholic Christians were ready to believe much evil of Montanism in the centres of its power. Some of the bishops wanted permission to exorcise Priscilla and Maximilla, fully believing that they were demoniacs, and that their evil spirits might be cast out. Catholics shut up in prison with Montanists in times of persecution refused to recognize them as fellow Christians. It was said that their leaders professed extraordinary asceticism and practised extraordinary luxury, that some of their prophets and prophetesses came to dreadful ends, as by suicide, that no prophet of theirs ever became a martyr.[1] This last statement is probably true, coming from a nearly contemporary writer who would hardly have dared to put forth such a definite statement, when contradiction was certain to

[1] This, and not that no *Montanist* ever became a martyr, is the statement of the anonymous author quoted by Eusebius (v. 16). And he is careful enough to say that it was *reported* that Montanus and Maximilla were suicides. Dr. McGiffert seems not quite fair to the ancient writer, in saying that he cares nothing for the truth. How do we know that what he says is not true, every word of it?

follow, if it was false. And furthermore, the combination of a very strict discipline with a great deal of self-indulgence in matters lying outside of the rule has nothing very improbable about it. Neither has the running out of a career of unrestrained emotional excitement into melancholia, insanity, and suicide. But that Montanism had a following of noble and holy souls, we shall find full proof.

The original leaders in the movement may safely be set down as perfectly honest self-deceivers. When they were excommunicated by the local bishops, they appealed boldly, and probably with full expectation of a favorable hearing, to the Church at large. It was in the year 177, the first date that we can feel quite sure of in this story, that memorable year when the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne were going through their fiery trial, that two communications came to Eleutherus, bishop of Rome. One was a petition from the followers of Montanus asking the Church of the chief city of Christendom to recognize them rather than their adversaries as truly representing the Catholic Church in the Asian province; the other was a letter from the martyr Churches of Southern Gaul, begging him not to disturb the Church's peace by offering the fellowship of the great Roman Church to persons whom the bishops of Asia had condemned. So we must understand the statement of Eusebius (v. 3), that these Churches sent letters to Asia and Phrygia, and also to Rome, expressing "a very prudent and orthodox judgment," and "negotiating for the peace of the Churches." No action

that granted the least favor to Montanus could have seemed to Eusebius either orthodox or prudent, so the endeavor to secure the peace of the Church must have been an endeavor to save the Roman bishop from putting himself in opposition to the bishops immediately concerned.

This plea of the Montanists for recognition was no "appeal to Rome" in the modern sense. It was only one, we may be sure, out of many such appeals, sent out to the great Church centres. All grave divisions among Christians resulted naturally in such appeals as this. It was never part of the discipline of the ancient Church to assume that majorities are right, nor yet that authorities are right. The Roman province, and every other province, had its own responsibility for deciding as well as it could, to which of these parties in the Asian province it should give its fellowship. A distant province might reasonably feel a good deal of difficulty in such a case and take a good deal of time to make up its mind. What was said against the new prophesyings depended so much on the wisdom of the observer. Who could say whether these far-away bishops who condemned the movement were deeply wise and spiritual men, and whether Montanus and the women had been deep characters, or shallow characters, before this experience came to them? It is plain that the Churches of Lyons and Vienne felt that they could give most valuable information on such points. Their leading men were largely Greek merchants from Asia, who knew a great deal more about the affairs and the people of that province

than anybody at Rome was likely to know. So they sent their messenger with information and advice, and their advice prevailed. Eleutherus joined in pronouncing the exclusion of the followers of Montanus from the Church. Yet the question was evidently an obscure question still. Some twenty-five or thirty years later—it seems to have been in the episcopate of Zephyrinus, the successor of Victor, when perhaps the Churches of Rome and Asia were not yet on good terms again after Victor's excommunication—Montanist teachers established themselves at Rome, and persuaded the bishop to give them "letters of peace." A visitor from Asia, Praxeas, of whom we must read presently as an archheretic, brought such information concerning the movement that these letters were soon recalled.

As a rival Church Montanism continued to be a power in Phrygia, its original home, till the middle of the sixth century, when it was stamped out by the orthodox persecutor, Justinian. For a while, however, in some provinces, it retained its place as a movement within the Church, and even drew some eminent Christians into its service. Chiefly was this true of the province of Africa. Tertullian, the most distinguished presbyter of the Church of Carthage, and the most brilliant and dashing writer of his day, whose every utterance was like a cavalry charge, embraced the new prophesyings about A. D. 200, and became an ardent, and even bitter, advocate of Montanist views. Tertullian's work in the Church must be considered in the next chapter. It must suffice to add here that Tertullian's Mon-

tanism seems to have run a course much like John Wesley's Methodism. In each case we have one of the most powerful, and we may say, inspired, men of the day appearing as a leader in a movement whose inner qualities make it perfectly inevitable that it should separate from the Catholic body. In each case the great man himself abhors such separation, will not see the necessity of separation, will not be a party to separation, yet does things which really tend to bring it about. In each case the great man gets the credit of having separated from the Church of his baptism, because the movement which he championed did so, and called itself by his name.[1] In the case of the Wesleys, however, the blunder is purely popular. It does not appear in books by careful writers. In the case of Tertullian, on the other hand, almost all scholars speak of his "fall," his "defection," "the Church which he had forsaken." Our own Dr. Schaff is distinguished as speaking of Tertullian's adopting Montanist opinions "without seceding from the Church," and declaring boldly, "he was not excommunicated." (Church History, ii. 420). Such is the view of Dr. Salmon also (Dict. Christ. Biog., Art. *Montanus*). But whether Tertullian was, or was not, a separatist in his later days, it seems certain that a group of martyrs who suffered in the late winter, A. D. 203, were at once Montanist in opinion and Catho-

[1] St. Augustine in the fifth century knew a Church at Carthage which had belonged to the "Tertullianists," and which they had handed over to the Catholics, when the last of them returned to the unity of the Church, sometime in the century before.

lic in position. The story of Perpetua and Felicitas and their companions cannot be passed over in the Church's roll of golden deeds.

When North Africa received Christianity we do not know. Its "archi-martyr," Namphamo, whose barbarous Punic name is rendered by St. Augustine *Homo boni pedis*,—in English, Goodspeed,—suffered under the Proconsul Vigellius Saturninus, who went to his governorship in May, 180. The town of Madaura seems to have sent Namphamo and some others to join the white-robed army.[1] A group from the town of Scilla—the "Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs," may still be read—suffered in the same summer. How many more, no man knoweth. Then the Church seems to have had rest till Severus issued his edict forbidding conversions to Christianity, and personal loyalty to the Emperor caused the law to be specially enforced in "Africa," the province of his birth.

It was in February, 203, that a group of new converts, not yet baptized, were thrown into prison at Carthage. Two of them, Revocatus and Felicitas, were slaves, and two again were of noble family, Vibia Perpetua and her younger brother. Perpetua herself was only twenty-two, but a mother with an infant at her breast, and apparently a widow. Her people were heathen. From them came no help. They only tormented her with entreaties to give up her delusion and save herself. She had had her training from Christians of a Montanist type. She

[1] "*Candidatus martyrum exercitus*," is the original of the "noble army of martyrs" in the *Te Deum*.

had learned that the pouring out of the Spirit on all flesh should enable all Christians to "see visions" and "dream dreams." So dreams and visions came to her. What shall we say of them? Certainly, she saw and heard nothing but what it was already in her heart to see and hear. But surely we may say also that her visions were a gift to her in her need from God.

For a few days they were in the outer prison, probably enough a mere stockaded enclosure with awnings to cover some portions from sun or rain. In that time they were baptized, and "To me," says Perpetua,—we have part of the story as she found means to write it down herself,—"To me the Spirit prescribed that nothing was to be sought in the water but bodily endurance. After a few days," she adds, "we were taken into the dungeon, and I was very much afraid, because I had never felt such darkness." The dungeon of a Roman prison was an awful place. We hear of its stifling heat, its unrelieved darkness, its intolerable, sickening stench, its rats and vermin. It is a horror happily beyond our imagining. Two deacons were allowed to visit the prisoners, and a money payment from the Church alms secured them a few hours in the open courts every day. Perpetua's brother moved her to ask for a revelation whether this should be a passion or an escape. She was so sure of her privilege of converse with the Lord, that she promised, "To-morrow I will tell you." She had her vision, and we can read it in her own words.

"I saw a golden ladder of marvellous height, reach-

ing up even to heaven, and very narrow, so that persons could only ascend it one by one, and on the sides of the ladder was fixed every kind of iron weapon. There were there swords, lances, hooks, daggers, so that if any one went up carelessly, or not looking upward, he would be torn to pieces, and his flesh would cleave to the iron weapons. And under the ladder itself was crouching a dragon of wonderful size, who lay in wait for those who ascended, and frightened them from the ascent. And Saturus went up first, who had subsequently delivered himself up freely on our account, not having been present when we were taken prisoners.[1] And he attained the top of the ladder, and turned towards me, and said to me, 'Perpetua, I am waiting for you, but be careful that the dragon does not bite you.' And I said, 'In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ he shall not hurt me.' And from under the ladder itself, as if in fear of me, he slowly lifted up his head, and as I trod upon the first step, I trod upon his head. And I went up, and I saw an immense extent of garden, and in the midst of the garden a white-haired man sitting, in the dress of a shepherd, one of great stature, milking sheep, and standing around were many thousand white-robed ones. And he raised his head, and looked upon me, and said, 'Thou art welcome, daughter.' And he called me, and from the cheese, as he was milking, he gave me a little cake, and I received it with folded hands, and ate it,

[1] One wonders if this Saturus, giving himself up "on account of" the other prisoners, was the presbyter who had had them in charge as catechumens, and was in a sense responsible for their fate. If so, one can understand his self-sacrifice.

and all who stood around said, '*Amen.*' And at the sound of their voices I was awakened, still tasting a sweetness which I cannot describe. And I immediately related this to my brother, and we understood that it was to be a passion, and we ceased henceforth to have any hope in this world."

It is the beautiful vision of a woman of beautiful character, built upon the familiar thought of our Lord as the Good Shepherd, combined with such Scripture passages as Gen. iii. 15, Dan. vii. 9, 10, Rev. i. 14, and upon her tender recollections of her first communion, just made, with Ps. xxxiv. 8 for its echoing refrain. Her Montanist companions and the dear soul herself must have regarded it as quite on a level with Holy Scripture. The soberer thought of the Church called such a vision a gift of God to the receiver, but not a revelation binding upon the Church at large. So the great St. Augustine expressly cautioned his hearers, when speaking of Perpetua's next vision, which we must now relate.

The little company were praying together, when suddenly a name occurred to Perpetua without any apparent cause, the name of her little brother Dinocrates, who died of a cancer in the face,when he was seven years old. She reproached herself that she had not thought of him before, she began to make intense supplication for this child of a heathen house, who had died unbaptized, unsaved, and that night she had a vision concerning him. "I saw Dinocrates going out from a gloomy place, where also there were several others,"—this is evidently a repetition of Perpetua's own dark dungeon,—"and

he was parched and very thirsty, with a filthy countenance and pallid color, and the wound on his face which he had when he died. . . . And between him and me there was a large interval, so that neither of us could approach to the other. And moreover, in the same place where Dinocrates was, there was a pool full of water, having its brink higher than the stature of the boy, and Dinocrates raised himself up as if to drink. And I was grieved that although that pool held water, still on account of the height to its brink, he could not drink. And I was aroused, and knew that my brother was in suffering." Perpetua adds that she prayed daily for this brother, sure that her prayer would avail to win his release from pain, and after they had been removed to another prison, near to the amphitheatre where they were to die, she had a vision of comfort. "I saw that that place which I had formerly observed to be in gloom was now bright, and Dinocrates, with body clean, was finding refreshment. And I saw a scar where there had been a wound, and that pool which I had seen before, with its margin lowered even to the boy's waist. And one drew water from the pool incessantly, and upon its brink was a goblet filled with water, and Dinocrates drew near and began to drink from it, and the goblet did not fail. And when he was satisfied, he went away from the water to play joyously, after the manner of children, and I awoke. Then I understood that he was translated from the place of punishment."

The great master Augustine is cautious, as has been said, and warns us that this is not Canonical

Scripture. Modern Roman writers appeal to it as a revelation from God, teaching their doctrine of Purgatory. It is to be noted, first, that there is no reason for thinking that these pious dreams contain any revelation whatever. Second, it is a question how far the ideas of this good woman who had not completed her course of instruction preparatory to baptism when she was arrested, were such as the theological teachers of the Church put forth to their more advanced students. Perhaps she had had no Christian teaching at all about the condition of the heathen dead. She had learned to set a great value on the baptismal washing, and she had *not* been told that it was wrong to go on praying for people after they died. One cannot be sure of much more as regards what the Church had taught her. Third, in any case the modern doctrine of Purgatory is a doctrine concerning saved souls exclusively. This vision, whether its value is greater or smaller, concerns the case of an unsaved heathen soul exclusively.

We must pass over Perpetua's last vision, and give one that was seen and told by Saturus. "We had suffered," he says, "and were gone forth from the flesh, and we were beginning to be carried by four angels into the east, and their hands touched us not. And we floated, not supine and looking upwards, but as if we were walking up a gentle slope. And being set free, we at length saw the first boundless light; and I said, 'Perpetua,'—for she was at my side,—'this is what the Lord promised to us, we have received the promise.' And while we are

carried by those same four angels, there appears to us a vast space resembling a pleasure-garden, having rose-trees and every kind of flower. And the height of the trees was after the measure of a cypress, and the petals were showering down incessantly. Moreover, there in the pleasure-ground four other angels appeared, brighter than the former ones, who when they saw us, gave us honor, and said to the rest of the angels, 'Here they are! Here they are!' with admiration. And those four angels who bore us, being greatly afraid, put us down, and we passed over on foot the space of a furlong in a broad path. There we found Jocundus and Saturninus and Artaxius, who having suffered in the same persecution were burned alive, and Quintus, who, himself also a martyr, had departed in prison. And we asked of them where the rest were; and the angels said to us, 'Come first, and greet your Lord.'

"And we came near to a place the walls of which were such as if they were built of light; and before the gate of that place stood four angels, who clothed those who entered with white robes. And being clothed, we entered, and saw the boundless light, and heard the united voice of some who said, 'Holy! Holy! Holy!' And in the midst of that place we saw as it were a hoary man sitting, having snow-white hair and with a youthful countenance, and his feet we saw not. And on his right hand and on his left were four and twenty elders, and behind them a great many others were standing. We entered with great wonder, and stood before the throne, and the four angels raised us up, and we kissed him, and he

passed his hand over our faces. And the rest of the elders said to us, 'Let us stand,' and we stood, and made peace.[1] And the elders said to us, 'Go and enjoy!' And I said to Perpetua, 'You have what you wish.' And she said to me, 'Thanks be to God, that joyous as I was in the flesh, I am now more joyous here!'

"And we went forth, and we saw before the entrance Optatus, the bishop, at the right hand, and Aspasius, the teaching presbyter, on the left hand, separate and sad. And they cast themselves at our feet, and said, 'Restore peace between us, because you have gone forth and left us thus.' And we said to them 'Art not *thou* our father?[2] and *thou* our presbyter? that you should cast yourselves at our feet!' And we prostrated ourselves, and we embraced them, and Perpetua began to talk with them, and we drew them apart under a rose-tree in the pleasure-garden. And while we were talking with them, the angels said unto them, 'Let them alone, that they may refresh themselves, and if you have any dissensions between you, forgive another.' And they drove them away. And they said to Optatus, 'Rebuke thy people, because they assemble to you as if returning from the Circus and contending about factious matters.' And then it seemed to us as if they would shut the doors. And in that place we

[1] This seems to have been the phrase used for giving and receiving the Kiss of Peace in the Eucharist. It was not merely that the kiss had come to be called "the peace," but that this ceremony was solemnly accounted of as a real renewal of the peace of God among men.

[2] *Papa*, "pope," is the word used by Saturus.

began to recognize many brethren, and moreover martyrs. We were all nourished with an indescribable odor which satisfied us. Then I joyously awoke."

The vision tells us more about Carthage than about heaven. Naturally, for the devout dreamer knew more about Carthage himself. Even the pleasure-garden and the hall opening out of it, with a throne at the upper end, is a recollection probably of some rich man's *horti*, in the rich residence-section, with a *basilica* given up to Christian Service. And here in this Carthage the bishop and a certain presbyter feel sadly that the peace of God is broken by the clash of their discordant views. The dreamer hears no condemnation whatever passed upon the presbyter. He, then, we may be sure, was of this same party, the party of the new prophesyings. And yet the rebuke to the bishop is very gentle. His chief fault, in a Montanist view, is that he has not rebuked and silenced that party in the Carthaginian Church that were noisy and rude in condemnation of the prophesyings. The two parties have not yet separated into two Churches, each condemning the other as no Church at all. They still labor for peace. We shall see later how impossible it was that such peace should last.

These were noble souls, and even if their delusion had led them into schism, it could not have separated them from the love of God. The day of execution was the Cæsar's birthday,—the anniversary, that is, of the proclamation of the Emperor's son and heir as an associate in the imperial government. On that

day Perpetua and her companions were to be confirmed forever in their glorious estate, as joint-heirs of their Father's Kingdom. The slave-woman Felicitas had lately given birth to a child in the prison. She had been eager to suffer with fellow Christians rather than with criminals, and Roman law would not allow her execution to take place before her confinement. Her friends joined their prayers with hers, and her labor-pains came on a month before the expected time. As she cried out in her anguish, a jailer asked her what she would do in the more bitter agonies of the arena. "What I suffer now," she said, "I suffer myself. But then there will be Another in me, who will suffer for me, because I also am about to suffer for Him." The day came, and the prisoners entered the arena, Perpetua singing psalms, "already treading on the head of the Egyptian; Revocatus and Saturninus and Saturus uttered threats against the gazing people about this martyrdom." The populace, indignant, demanded that as the martyrs passed along a line of guards, they should be scourged, a sort of "running the gauntlet." The victims only rejoiced that another element of likeness to the sufferings of Jesus Christ was added to their glory. It was noted that prayers were strangely answered. Saturninus had asked that he might be thrown to all the beasts. He had trial of a leopard and a bear. Saturus had had a sinking terror of wild beasts, and lo! a boar brought out against him turned and slew the huntsman that had him in charge, and a bear before which Saturus was next exposed refused to leave his den. The women had prayed for nothing but

steadfastness. They were bound in nets and exposed to a wild cow, as in mockery of their sex.

Perpetua suffered first, and after she was tossed, the audience saw her gathering her robe around her, "more mindful of her modesty than of her suffering." Brought forward again, she was careful to bind her dishevelled hair, because the hair unbound was a sign of mourning, and a martyr for Jesus Christ must not even seem to mourn. Then when she saw Felicitas lying crushed upon the sand, she went to her and lifted her up, and presently, when both had been dismissed, she seemed to wake as from an "ecstasy," and said, "I cannot tell when we are to be led out to that cow." She knew nothing of what had passed. A little later, and Saturus, whose courage rose with his peril, went calmly to meet a leopard, and returned as calmly, bathed in his own blood. "Safe washed! Safe washed!"[1] screamed the populace, who had picked up some crude notions about the Christian belief in baptism as a regeneration. But Saturus said simply to the soldier Pudens, who had been one of the prison-guards and was already half a convert, "Farewell, and be mindful of my faith, and let not these things disturb, but confirm thee!" Then the great audience, satiated with tortures, de-

[1] "*Salvum lotum!*" was the cry. The Latin word *salvus* was used by the early Christians with a meaning not to be conveyed in any one English word. "Saved" means more to our ears than *salvus* to theirs. "In a state of salvation" expresses it well, as if a person was in an ark of safety, where in one sense he was absolutely secure from harm, and yet he might drop out of it and be drowned. Contrariwise, to say that a man is not *salvus* in this world is not to deny that he may be saved in the world to come. A man cannot be *salvus* outside of the Church of God, but he may be on the way to salvation.

manded death. The Christians were to be dragged into the middle of the arena, and despatched. It was a last opportunity to do honor to their King, and now with one accord these victims stretched upon the sand, all faint with pain and loss of blood, rose up to go unforced to the place of their deliverance into life. But first they gave one another the kiss of peace as if they were about to offer their Eucharistic Sacrifice,—no doubt, that was just what they felt that they were going to do shortly enough, worshipping with angels and archangels from their place beneath heaven's golden altar,—and then they walked in solemn stillness to the place of death. Silent and unmoved, they all received the sword-thrust, the once fearful Saturus going to glory first, as in Perpetua's dream. Only Perpetua herself, hurt by a stroke from an unsteady hand, cried out and guided the sword of the executioner to her throat.

"Oh! most brave and blessed martyrs!" says the story. "Oh! truly called and chosen unto the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ! Whosoever magnifies and honors and adores Him, ought assuredly to read these examples for the edification of the Church, not less than those of old, so that new virtues also may testify that one and the same Holy Spirit is always operating even until now, and God the Father Omnipotent, and His Son Jesus Christ our Lord, whose is the glory and infinite power for ever and ever. Amen." After such an outburst cold criticism is an anti-climax, but for the truth's sake we must note the moral of this story. A movement may produce noble fruits of holy lives, may be greatly blessed by

Almighty God, even with gladdening vision and inspiring prophecy and glorious martyrdom, and yet be an unwise movement, an unhealthy movement, a movement which the Church is bound to condemn. That troubled bishop, Optatus, refusing to recognize such visions as Perpetua's as revelations binding on the conscience of the Church, was perhaps a better servant of the Church, and of the Lord the Great Head of the Church, there in his everyday anxieties, his separation, his sadness, and his faithfulness, than even the beloved Perpetua in her martyrdom.[1]

III. *Monarchianism.* It has been said in our first chapter that the struggle with heresy, claiming to be the Catholic Religion when it was not, belongs to the period following Constantine's conversion, the period of Christianity come into fashion. It was not meant that the Post-Apostolic Age saw no difficulties at all of that kind, but that they were not its characteristic trials. False explanations of the Faith got no such attention from men who really meant to be Christians in this age as in the next one, and therefore gave the Church no such distress. But certainly the movement known under various names as Monarchianism, Patripassianism, Sabellianism, was one of those in which men make an assault upon the Catholic Faith, while it is their honest purpose to explain it. And here let it be said that new explanations of ancient forms of words are in themselves

[1] Perpetua and her companions are still commemorated in the Calendar of the Church of England on March 7. The story of these martyrs is given in Ante-Nicene Fathers (American Edition Christian Literature Co.) Vol. III., 699-706. In the Edinburgh Edition, T. and T. Clark, the reference is Vol. XIII., 276.

perfectly admissible. They may help a new generation to grasp an old idea. But when a new explanation of an old Creed is found really to deny the ancient historical meaning which is the very faith that that Creed was made to enshrine, charity should acknowledge with tender sympathy the honesty of the endeavor to explain, but faith should be clear-headed enough to brand the explanation as heresy, and so give warning to the unlearned that that way out of difficulties is closed.

It has been noted that this inevitable conflict of the faith with honest, but poisonous heresy, has followed the order of the Catholic Creeds from the first paragraph to the last. Gnosticism set up its rival religion with a difference in the very first words of its *Credo*. Granting that it might say, "I believe in one God,"—though its "Æons" and its "Demiurge" looked more like the heathen scheme of "gods many and lords many,"—yet its God was a different kind of God, a Being of another character, from the God of the Apostolic Faith. Gnosticism stumbled at the idea of a good God who should make an evil world, and there must be a struggle to teach men to believe in the Catholic Revelation of God Almighty, in love a Father, in power a Creator, Maker and Upholder of all the universe, with all its freedom and all its mixture of evil and good. Then in the later period came the successive strifes over the doctrine of the Divine Nature of the Divine Son, then over His Human Nature and over the union of the two. Our own late days are seeing the struggle to make the Faith

accepted as concerning the work of the Holy Ghost, in the upholding of the Mystical Body, the Church, in the sacramental Forgiveness of Sins, and in the Salvation of the Flesh in final Resurrection. The heresy of which we are now to speak takes its place logically in the evolution of man's long struggle with the real difficulties of God's Revelation. It is the failure of those who, laboring to defend the Divine Unity against Gnosticism, fell into error on the other side.

The name Monarchianism is derived from the Greek words for "a single Origin." The idea is that the Great First Cause of all things must be a single cause. That, the holders of the Catholic Faith have always maintained. It is the Father alone who is God inoriginate, God in Himself alone, and of Himself alone. The Father alone is a Source of Godhead. The Son is God eternally, but not of Himself. He is God eternally, because the Father has eternally begotten Him. The Holy Ghost is an eternal Divine Breathing, but not of Himself. He is God eternally, because the Father has eternally breathed such a Breath. There is but one *Arché*, one Beginning and Well-spring of Deity, who yet has called forth eternally these answering Voices, so that there has never been a time, or an eternity, when they have not responded to the utterance of the Father's Love. That is the Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity, saving at once the necessity of a Single Cause, and the revelation of the Three Divine Persons. But there was a time in the last years of the second century when many earnest men were

singularly jealous of the truth of the Single First Cause, and they could not bear any doctrine of plurality within the Being of God. The first revolt of unreasonable reason against God's own revelation of Himself seems to have taken the coarse and rather rough and ready form of denying the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ. We hear of a certain Theodotus of Byzantium, a cobbler, who advanced such a view at Rome, acknowledging the supernatural virgin-birth of our Lord, but refusing to call Him God. Another Theodotus, a banker, joined the movement, and it gained force enough to set up a bishop, Natalius, and to pay him 150 *denarii* a month, about five times as much as a day-laborer could earn. It is said to be "the first example of a salaried clergyman." Certainly the clergy of the Catholic Church were in the habit of living on the Church's money. It may be, however, that guaranteeing a particular sum was a new thing, or that this was regarded as immoderate pay, tending to ensnare a man's conscience. At any rate, Natalius returned to the Church after a time a penitent, declaring that he had had a vision of angels who scourged him severely by way of penance for his sin. The heresy of Theodotus seems to have continued to find favor with some few exceptional minds for a century, but it was never a conspicuous force.

A much more mischievous form of false Monarchianism appeared in Rome a little later, taking an almost exactly opposite way of meeting the Monarchian difficulty. Theodotus had tried to save the Divine Unity by taking away the Divinity of Jesus

Christ. This new heresy seemed at first only to exalt Him. "God is one," it says, "but He has many glorious ways of manifesting Himself, and among these many manifestations He has three to which He has given special Names in His desire to fasten them upon the grateful memory of His people. He calls Himself Father to set forth all love and all authority as summed up in Himself. He calls Himself Son, to show Himself obedient to His own laws, not arbitrary, either, but gentle, and ready to take on our very humanity, and constitute Himself a Brother to the souls which He has made. He calls Himself the Holy Spirit, the Holy Breath, as One who breathes on all men with words of truth, with gifts of life. Just as one of us may be at once a father and a son and a husband and a brother, a teacher, an admonisher, a comforter of sorrow, and a bringer of mirth, so God is One Person, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, all in one, and all at once, and all always, and in such wise that Son and Holy Ghost are but names for the one God, our Father, acting in particular ways." It was perhaps unfortunate that in both Greek and Latin the word that the Church found waiting for her to use to express the idea of "Person," was a word that meant first "an actor's mask." On the stage of those days men were used to seeing one kind of mask worn to represent an old man, another for a young man, another for a woman, another for a child. The idea was easily caught up that the threefold personality in the Divine Being was not the response of love to love and of holy will to holy will, but only the putting

on of various gracious aspects by one All-wise Actor, the better to impress the troubled world that waited for Almighty Love to show His face. But this, the Catholic Church declared, was no true Monarchianism. It was not the "Faith which was once delivered unto the saints." It did not fit with the language of the New Testament about the Father loving the Son, and sending the Son, and the Son praying to the Father, and both sending the Holy Ghost. No! this was rather Patripassianism (from the Latin words, *Patris passio*, "the Father's suffering"), for in identifying the Father with the Son, it made it necessary to hold that the Divine Father Himself was incarnate for our salvation, born of the Virgin Mary, put to death on the Cross, raised from the grave. The heresy thus disowned came to be generally known by the name of Patripassianism in the West. In the East, it was known from the name of a presbyter, Sabellius, who preached it eagerly, as Sabellianism.

Our one great authority for the early history of this movement is a Roman writer, Hippolytus, of whom we are to hear in our next chapter. He says that the heresy was invented by Noetus, a native of Smyrna. It had its beginning, then, in that same province of Asia, where all the Church's chief troubles seem to have been precipitated for many years. One wonders whether St. John established his Apostolic throne at Ephesus because he felt that there centred a population more impulsive, restless, self-willed, more given to be opinionated without study, and tenacious of rules without reason, than

any other in the Church. At any rate the field of Quartodeciman obstinacy and Montanist fanaticism had been the hotbed of the wildest forms of Gnostic speculation still earlier, and now bore fruit of ill-considered opposition to Gnostic thought. How the speculations of Noetus were received in his own country, we are not told. They had a following. We know no more. But "all roads lead to Rome." The saying was true in those days. Every man who had something new to say wanted to say it in the chief city of the world. Noetus went there too. It was reported of him that he taught strange things contrary to the faith, and the "council of presbyters" examined him. He denied that he had taught such things, and was let go in peace. Later, having gained some adherents, and being called again before the council, he acknowledged the truth of the accusations against him. It seems hardly doubtful that the poor man had defended himself by falsehood, till the evidence against him was irresistible. Being then excommunicated, he announced himself as the Moses of a new deliverance of God's people, and called his brother Aaron.

These things must, apparently, have happened in the episcopate of Victor, a man of severe fidelity to what he believed to be the interests of the Kingdom of God, but narrow, overbearing, and harsh. Popular election is apt to follow such a man with his opposite. When Victor died, probably in 198, the choice of the Roman Church fell on Zephyrinus, who seems to have been easy-going and easily influenced, a ready instrument in the hands of men of

stronger character than himself. Meanwhile Noetus and his Aaron passed away shortly after their separation from the communion of the Church. Leaders who are but names to us succeed them, Epigonus, Cleomenes. But somewhere in the course of the episcopate of Zephyrinus there came from "Asia" a man of greater power, it would seem, than Noetus, who appeared as a champion of Noetian thought. It was Praxeas, a man of whom little is known, save that he had been imprisoned in a recent persecution, and had now a glory of confessorship attaching to his name. His stay in Rome would seem to have been but brief, for he is not so much as mentioned by Hippolytus, and he passed on to Carthage, where he was opposed by the great teacher Tertullian,—"by him whose agency God was pleased to employ," is Tertullian's phrase, which must be a modest reference to himself,—and actually brought back to the Catholic Faith. Then he disappears from view. But his visit to Rome had had no small results. He had found the bishop deeply influenced by certain Montanist teachers, so that he had actually admitted them to communion, given them, as the phrase then was, the peace of the Church. Praxeas, then, had pointed out to Zephyrinus that the decisions of his predecessors[1] had condemned these people as schismatics, and had further persuaded him that the old

[1] The word "predecessors" is important as showing that the bishop under whom this happened was the pliable Zephyrinus, and not the inflexible Victor, or (more improbably still) Eleutherus. Montanism cannot have been known at Rome, so as to be condemned before the time of Eleutherus a tall, and "predecessors must be Eleutherus and Victor."

decisions were just. Praxeas had just come from "Asia," and could tell a vivid story, doubtless, of what Montanism was like in its native wildness. But he accomplished more than this. He persuaded the Roman bishop, if not actually to adopt his views about a "modal Trinity," as it is sometimes called, at least to admit some of those who held it to his fellowship. Nothing less than that can possibly be meant by Tertullian's bitter epigram,—"Praxeas accomplished two great achievements at Rome. He banished the Spirit, and crucified the Father." Hippolytus, as we shall see, charges both Zephyrinus and his successor, Callistus, with favoring this form of heresy, and declares that Sabellius, by whose name it is now generally known, was led astray in this matter by Callistus himself. We need not believe all these accusations; but the fact remains, after all possible allowances have been made, that this heresy found the great Roman Church weaker to resist it, than any other leading Church in Christendom, and that Rome's greatest theologian believed a bishop of Rome to be a heretic himself. Of this we shall hear more, when we come to the story of Hippolytus.

CHAPTER IX.

EARLY THEOLOGIANS OF THE WEST: IRENÆUS; TERTULLIAN; HIPPOLYTUS.

OVEMENTS are made, or met, by men. It is time now to fix our attention on certain great leaders of thought whom God's providence raised up about the end of the second century, to influence the Church profoundly in the East and in the West. We may begin with the Western Church, and it will furnish us with three subjects: Irenæus, the Conservative, with his book *Against All Heresies;* Tertullian, the Radical, who defended the Catholic Church as an infallible Teacher, and died the founder of a sect; and Hippolytus, the Puritan, who bears the honors of a martyr-saint, but is famous for a deadly quarrel with two holders of the Roman See.

I. *Irenæus.* The conservatives make the least noise in the world, and of Irenæus little is known. A native, apparently of the province of Asia, and born not far from A. D. 130, he was a pupil of St. Polycarp, the martyr-bishop of Smyrna. There is an uncertain tradition that he had removed to Rome and was teaching there at the time of St. Polycarp's death. We know that when the Churches of Lyons and Vienne suffered persecution in 177, Irenæus was a presbyter of the Church

of Lyons, and was in Rome as its messenger on some errand to the Bishop Eleutherus. The persecution over, he succeeded Pothinus as bishop of Lyons, and the end of his life must have been nearly coincident with that of the century. A pupil of a pupil of St. John the Evangelist, he is a very weighty authority as to what Apostolic Christianity really was. As one who knew intimately the Churches of three centres so widely separated as Asia Minor, Rome, and Southern Gaul, he had a particular good opportunity to know whether the Church of his own day was holding fast the tradition of Apostolic teaching. To him no other subject could be more interesting. Other men might be moved to re-write Christian theology, so as to show how it could be harmonized with the noblest utterances of Greek philosophy, the one answering to the other because in both were movings of the Spirit of God. To Irenæus the one great concern was, "Hold that fast which thou hast." A man "composed unto union," like Ignatius of Antioch, he seems to have been a gentle soul, as gentle as Ignatius was fiery. His name of *Irenæus—Makepeace* in its English equivalent—is so well deserved that one wonders whether it could really have been given him before his character was formed, or whether again it was bestowed upon him by a Christian mother, who succeeded in training up her boy to be what she had wished and prayed that he might be. We have already seen him using his influence at Rome to *make* peace between high-handed Bishop Victor and the Quartodecimans of Asia, and again to *keep* a just peace, when Montanist

leaders were trying to get foreign Churches to interfere in their behalf in the same province. One more feature we must add to our picture of the man, —a tinge of melancholy brightened by an ardent hope. From a lost book of his one saying has floated down to us,—*The whole occupation of the Christian is to practise dying.* Perhaps he meant that the Christian of that day must practise a daily giving up of things that all his neighbors were keenly interested in. Perhaps he meant that the Christian must carry his life in his hand, daily renewing the spirit of perfect readiness to be a martyr, if the Lord should so call. It may be again that he actually meant to speak of the Christian's Eucharists and prayers as a daily entering into the life of Paradise and the fellowship of God, only to be plucked back again to renew the struggle of this world. In any case the saying marks the man of an "other-worldly" mind, the man whose hope is in a new world that is to be, rather than in any great bettering of this. He was distinctly one of those men of vision—"visionaries" we have no right to call them—who in almost every age are found fixing their thoughts upon the Second Coming of our Lord as the world's chief hope, and looking for it so constantly and eagerly that it inevitably seems near to them, though it be still far off.

Irenæus never wrote many books. He excuses himself as one who lived among Celts and spoke their barbarous language habitually, and could not be expected to write Greek elegantly or easily. Very likely he was a Galatian by birth and had a

Celtic dialect for his mother tongue. He wrote, not as a ready writer, but by constraint, when it seemed to be a duty laid upon him. In that spirit he undertook the only work of his which has come down to us, his five books *Against All Heresies*, or to use his own title, *The Refutation and Overthrow of Science Falsely So Called*. It would be useless to try to analyze its 250 crowded pages, which would make 1,000 like these. Enough to say that the first book is taken up with an account of the prevailing heretical systems of a Gnostic type, especially that of Valentinus, with a sketch of the history of heretical movements from the time of Simon Magus in the middle of the first century, the second book argues against the Gnostic ideas mainly on the ground of inherent unreasonableness, and the remaining three books are filled with an argument from Holy Scripture. In these last the fourth book is rather particularly occupied with the defence and explanation of the religion of the Old Testament as making one scheme with the Christian Gospel, and the fifth with the defence of the truth of the Incarnation. Nothing more offensive to the Gnostic, nothing dearer to Irenæus, than the idea of the Word made flesh. As specially notable points of the theology of Irenæus, we may consider his doctrine of the ground of certainty in religion, his doctrine of the Incarnation and of the Sacraments, and his doctrine of the "last things."

1. As regards the ground of certainty, certainly no believer has ever been more certain of his ground. Irenæus held with utter confidence that some cen-

tral truths had been given to the Church to remember, and that the Church had infallibly remembered them. It was not a matter of infallible judgment in meeting new questions as they came up, nor yet of an infallible interpretation of Scripture, nor of any infallible evolution in the Church's mind. It was simply a matter of memory. Jesus Christ had committed a certain body of truths to the company of the Apostles, to be held fast to the end of time. Their successors, the bishops of the Churches throughout the world, held everywhere this same body of certain truth. Let Irenæus speak for himself, telling us just what he understood these essentials of the Gospel to be, and how he felt about the certainty of them.

"The Church, though dispersed throughout the whole world, even to the ends of the earth, has received from the Apostles and their disciples this faith: In one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth and the sea and all things that are in them; and in one Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who became incarnate for our salvation; and in the Holy Spirit, who proclaimed through the prophets the dispensations of God, and the advents, and the birth from a virgin, and the passion, and the resurrection from the dead, and the ascension into heaven in the flesh of the beloved Christ Jesus our Lord, and His manifestation from heaven in the glory of the Father *to gather all things into one*, and to raise up anew all flesh of the whole human race, in order that to Christ Jesus our Lord, and God, and Saviour, and King, according to the will of the invisible

Father, *every knee should bow of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess* to Him, that He should execute just judgment towards all; that He may send *spiritual wickednesses*, and the angels who transgressed and became apostate, together with the ungodly, and unrighteous, and wicked, and profane, among men, into everlasting fire; but may in the exercise of His grace confer immortality upon the righteous and holy and those who have kept His commandments and persevered in His love, some from the beginning, and others from their repentance, and may surround them with everlasting glory.

"As I have already observed, the Church having received this preaching and this faith, although scattered throughout the whole world, yet as if occupying but one house, carefully preserves it. She also believes these points just as if she had but one soul, and one and the same heart, and she proclaims them and teaches them and hands them down as if she possessed only one mouth. For though the languages of the world are dissimilar, yet the import of the tradition is one and the same. For the Churches which have been planted in Germany do not believe or hand down anything different, nor do those in Spain, nor those in Gaul, nor those in the East, nor those in Libya, nor those which have been established in the central regions of the world."

We may well observe the honorable meaning of "tradition" in Irenæus. It is the solemn and safe handing on of the few things which all Christians know for certain. Later the same word was used to

cover an attempt to bind on men's consciences a good many things which some Christians had simply guessed. These so different uses of the word should not be confounded. The passage just quoted is from Book I. x. 1, 2. It is only one of many which indicate that Irenæus regarded "the faith" as one and certain. How he would make the oneness establish the certainty may be seen in Book III. iii. 1, 2.

"It is within the power of all in every Church who may wish to see the truth, to contemplate clearly the tradition of the Apostles manifested throughout the whole world; and we are in a position to reckon up those who were by the Apostles instituted bishops of the Churches, and the succession of these men to our own times,—those who neither taught nor knew of anything like what these rave about. For if the Apostles had known hidden mysteries, which they were in the habit of imparting to *them that are perfect*, apart and privily from the rest, they would have delivered them especially to those to whom they were also committing the Churches themselves. For they were desirous that these men should be very perfect and blameless in all things whom also they were leaving behind as successors, delivering up their own place of government to these men, which men, if they discharged their functions honestly, would be a great boon, but if they should fall away, the direst calamity. Since, however, it would be very tedious in such a volume as this, to reckon up the successions of all the Churches, we do put to confusion all those who, in whatsoever manner, whether by an evil self-pleasing, by vain glory, or by

blindness and perverse opinion, assemble in unauthorized meetings, by indicating that tradition, derived from the Apostles, of the very great, very ancient, and universally-known Church founded and organized at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul, as also the faith preached to men, which comes down to our time by means of the successions of the bishops. For it is a matter of necessity that every Church should agree with this Church on account of its preëminent authority, that is, the faithful everywhere, inasmuch as the Apostolical tradition has been preserved continuously by those who exist everywhere."

It will be sufficiently clear that Irenæus regarded the essentials of Christian doctrine as proved by a tradition which could not possibly admit error, being (1) *universal*, and because universal, (2) certainly *unbroken in its descent*. But his last sentence raises an important question. What did he mean by saying that every other Church must agree with the Church at Rome? Well, in the first place, he said nothing of the sort. We have no complete copy of this work in Greek, as Irenæus wrote it. This is one of the passages where we must depend upon an awkward Latin translation. What is given above is the Edinburgh translation, which certainly does not seem to make much sense. Here, on the other hand, is a translation from a scholar of the Roman Communion (Berington and Kirk's *Faith of Catholics*, i. 252), which is less favorable to Roman claims and much more accurate: "For to this Church, on account of more potent principality, it is necessary

that every Church (that is, those who are on every side faithful) resort; in which Church ever by those who are on every side has been preserved the tradition which is from the Apostles."

"Resort to"? Or "agree with"? Which is right? *Convenire ad* is ordinary Latin for "resort to"; *convenire cum* for to "agree with." A Latin writer ought to be no more able to confound the two, than an English writer to say, "I go *to* the Baptist Church every week," when he means, "I go *with* the Baptist Church every time." This Latin version does not say, "agree with," but "resort to." Probably it says what it means, and what Irenæus meant. But whatever was meant, we must observe the reason for singling out this Church from Churches generally. The argument runs thus: It is by the agreement of all Churches that the faith of Christians is proved to be a revelation from God, for if all agree in reporting one message received from the Lord through the Apostles, then plainly there was a message, and it has not been changed. But it would be tedious to go through a list of hundreds of Churches, showing how the faith came down from the Apostles through a succession of bishops in each. There is one Church in which the agreement of all the Churches is mirrored because there the tradition of the faith has been preserved by witnesses coming from all parts of the world. Christians from all the world over have business that brings them to the imperial city. They come there and are at unity with the local Church. Then in that Church the faith is actually preserved by the testimony of all the

Churches of the Christian world at once. Whether Irenæus meant to say that all Churches had to come visiting the Roman Church on errands, because of that city's secular preëminence, or that every Church must necessarily[1] agree with this one, because of a superiority which presently appears to be a superiority of news-gathering, one thing is clear. He says that the Apostolic tradition was preserved in the Roman Church, not by an infallible pope, not by a successor of St. Peter, not by a Vicar of Christ, not by anybody living in Rome at all, but by the Christians from abroad, the faithful on every side. That was why one might use the Roman tradition as being just as good as Catholic tradition, simply because visitors coming in from all quarters made it really to be a Catholic tradition. And this, be it remembered, was not simply a tradition of what Christians had always believed, but of what Jesus Christ had called them to believe.

2. In opposition to Gnostic heresy, which taught that the material creation was essentially evil, and that the only way to save men from sin was to remove them forever out of the flesh, Irenæus was led to dwell with special love and reverence on the doctrine of the Incarnation of the Son of God.[2] So

[1] This phrase is worth noticing. It is not one of moral duty, "Every Church must do this or be wrong," but one of pure mechanical necessity, "Every Church has got to do this and cannot help itself." Of course, having to go often to Rome on business was just such a mechanical necessity, and agreeing with the Roman Christians in the faith was not. For a delightful analysis of this passage, see Rev. F. W. Puller's *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*, pp. 31-43.

[2] As many readers will have no definite idea of what the doctrine of the Incarnation is, we venture to quote a good modern

far from matter being essentially evil, it was the eternal purpose of God to take a created nature into union with Himself, and in the Person of the Divine Son to be made flesh, and that forever. Man, says Irenæus, was made after the image of God at the beginning, but because the Divine Word was still invisible, man could not see that image, and so the more readily fell away from the Divine likeness. "When, however, the Word of God was made flesh, He established both points: for He both showed forth the image truly, Himself becoming that which was the image of Himself; and He restored the likeness securely, making man to be like the invisible Father through the visible Word" (V. xvi. 2). It was not merely to show an example of what man should be, that the Word was made man. Irenæus is very strong on that. He *had* to be made man, so as to be able to communicate to other men the power of a sinless life. "How shall man enter into God, if God did not really enter into man?" (IV. xxxiii. 4). Many Christians of to-day suppose that the indwelling of the Holy Ghost constitutes the supernatural life of the Christian. Not so Irenæus. Not only does he argue for the necessity of the Incarnation on the ground that "unless man had overcome the enemy

statement of that ancient and Catholic verity from Article ii. of the xxxix. Articles of Religion of the Anglican Communion. "The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, and of one substance with the Father, took Man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance: so that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to say, the Godhead and Manhood, were joined together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very Man."

of man, the enemy would not have been legitimately vanquished" (III. xviii. 7), but in his next chapter he goes on to say that we must be saved by a gift of human life, triumphant, holy human life, that proceeds from an immortal body, and is ordained to live in such a body forever.

Following out this line of thought and a curious notion that our Lord had lived to be fifty years old (drawn probably by a too hasty inference from St. John viii. 57), Irenæus held that it was part of the divine plan that our Lord should live through all conditions of man's growth, even to old age, that He might have a saving power specially adapted to any need. "He came to save all who through means of Himself are born again to God,—infants, and children, and boys, and youths, and old men. He therefore passed through every age" (II. xxii. 4). The notion is not worth mentioning in itself, but it illustrates the feeling of Irenæus as to the means of salvation, and incidentally it makes clear an important point in his sacramental theology. He believed in infant regeneration through baptism. Infants are expressly included among those who have been "born again to God." So in III. xvii. 1, we find him identifying regeneration with baptism as Justin Martyr did,— "And again, giving to the disciples the power of regeneration into God, He said to them, *Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*" Manifestly, power to baptize is to Irenæus power to impart to another person a share in the Incarnate Life of Jesus Christ.

Quite correspondingly he teaches, again in closest harmony with Justin Martyr, that the bread and wine of the Christian Eucharist are material elements taken into union with God, and so made vehicles of a wonderful spiritual power. We cannot possibly understand the thought of Irenæus and Justin without setting clearly before ourselves what Christian people are in the habit of thinking about these subjects now. About the Holy Eucharist, then, there are among English-speaking Christians of to-day four main lines of thought, and the language of the early writers will not quite fit any one of them. (*a*) The Zwinglian theory says, "There is no power at all in this ordinance, only a bare commemoration by empty symbols. Sacrament it is not, being only a community supper touched with a devout sentiment." All Christian antiquity abhors this notion, or would have, if it had ever heard of it! The *Agapé*, or love-feast, they knew, which was a supper, and the Eucharist they knew, which was sacrament and sacrifice. They did not confound them. (*b*) John Calvin taught—and in this he has a multitude of followers,—that the consecrated bread and wine were mere symbols *in themselves*, but that the faithful, faithfully receiving them, were really united to the Lord Jesus in His bodily life. "Christ present in the Sacrament, but not in the Elements," is a favorite phrase in which that theory is summed up. All ancient Christianity, however, regarded the hallowed Elements as certainly instinct with power. (*c*) A numerous body of Anglican writers—one may call them, for convenience, the "Oxford School"

—maintain that these Elements are called the Body and Blood of our Lord because our Lord's natural Flesh and Blood have a supernatural manner of presence there, "under the veils of bread and wine." The early writers do not speak in that tone. None of them speak of our Lord's Body as present "*in*" or "*under*" the Sacramental veil, or species, in any way, for three hundred years from the Church's founding. A phrase of Tertullian's about our Lord's consecrating "His blood in wine" is no exception, neither is a phrase of a similar kind from St. Cyprian. Both men would have said, with Irenæus, "The wine *is* the Blood of our Lord," not "The wine *contains* the blood of our Lord." Tertullian's phrase "In the bread is understood His Body" (*De Oratione*, vi.), does *not* mean "His Body is understood to be in the bread." (*d*) The Roman dogma teaches that the bread and wine cease to be bread and wine essentially, and become by exchange of "substance," whatever that may mean, the Body and Blood of our Lord. Gnostics, it may be submitted, would have taken much comfort from that teaching, if they had met with it in the second century. "Created things pass away," they would have said, "and a Divine manifestation takes their place. That is what we have always said of the Incarnation. The bread and wine once consecrated are no longer bread and wine. The flesh assumed by the Christ was no longer real, human, suffering flesh." As a matter of fact, however, Catholic writers argued expressly from the Eucharist against the Gnostics and in favor of the

reality of our Lord's "earthly" part. What now says Irenæus?

"How can they say that the flesh which is nourished with the Body of the Lord and with His Blood, goes to corruption and does not partake of life? . . . Our opinion is in accordance with the Eucharist, and the Eucharist in turn establishes our opinion. For we offer to Him His own, announcing consistently the fellowship and union of the flesh and Spirit. For as the bread, which is produced from the earth, when it receives the Invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two realities, an earthly and a heavenly, so also our bodies, when they receive the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having the hope of the resurrection to eternity" (IV. xviii. 5).

"When, therefore, the mingled cup[1] and the manufactured bread receive the Word of God, and the Eucharist of the Blood and the Body of Christ is made, from which things the substance of our flesh is increased and supported, how can they affirm that the flesh is incapable of receiving the gift of God, which is life eternal, when it is nourished from the Body and Blood of the Lord and is a member of Him?—Even as the blessed Paul declares in his Epistle to the Ephesians that *we are members of His Body, of His flesh and of His bones.* He does not speak these words of some spiritual and invisible man, for a spirit has not bones nor flesh; but the

[1] The wine of the Christian Eucharist was always mixed with water. We have seen the custom stated in Justin Martyr's description, pp. 151, 153.

arrangement is an actual man consisting of flesh and nerves and bones,—that which is nourished by the cup which is His Blood, and receives increase from the bread which is His Body. And just as a cutting from the vine planted in the ground fructifies in its season, or as a corn of wheat falling into the earth and becoming decomposed, rises with manifold increase by the Spirit of God, who contains all things, and then through the wisdom of God serves for the use of men, and having received the Word of God becomes the Eucharist, which is the Body and Blood of Christ, so also our bodies, being nourished by it, and being deposited in the earth and suffering corruption there, shall rise at their appointed time" (V. ii. 3).

It will be seen that Irenæus does not speak the language of any of the four modern views. As against the Zwinglian teaching, he finds in this Sacrament a mighty power. As against the Calvinist speculations, he finds that the Elements themselves receive the Word of God and become great. As against the Roman definition, he recognizes in the Eucharist two parts, an earthly and a heavenly, and the earthly part not changed into the heavenly part, but both abiding together. As against the Oxford view, he nowhere says that the "heavenly reality," is the glorified Body of our Lord, but does continually speak of the bread, the "earthly reality," as itself made to be "the Lord's Body" by the change which brings the "heavenly reality" into union with it. To the present writer it seems that all early Christian writers who touch upon the sub-

ject agree in teaching this: The Eucharistic Elements of bread and wine are made to be the Body and Blood of our Lord by a consecration which makes them *vehicles of His Incarnate Life*, and therefore *a Body and Blood of His*, superadded to those which He had by nature. The Church itself is called the Body of Christ for such a reason, not because we, the members of the Church, are changed into our Lord's own natural flesh and blood, nor yet, surely, as a mere lifeless symbol, not truly animated by His power. Why could not such a phrase be justified in the same way in connection with the Eucharist? In that case the Sacramental Body, of hallowed bread, would be, like the Mystical Body, of the faithful people, an addition to our Lord's Natural Body, an "extension" of it, so to speak, identified, but not identical with it.

Take these words, "The mingled cup and the manufactured bread receive the Word of God, and the Eucharist of the Blood and the Body of Christ is made, from which things the substance of our flesh is increased and nourished," and compare them with what we have heard (p. 152), from Justin Martyr,—"Not as common bread and common drink do we receive these; but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour having been made flesh by the Word of God, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so likewise have we been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of the Word which is from Him, and from which our flesh and blood are by transmutation nourished, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh."

Both Justin and Irenæus hold that bread and wine, retaining still their natural qualities, as, for instance, the power to nourish our bodies, are brought into a union with our Lord Jesus Christ which is in some way parallel with the union of His Divinity and His humanity in the Incarnation. They never try to say *what* the heavenly part of the Sacrament is. Probably they did not think that they knew. But certainly it is the hallowed Elements themselves, as having had some heavenly reality added to them, and not the Power or Powers thus added, which are called by these writers "the Body of our Lord" and "the Blood of our Lord."

Here also is the key to a strange and often-quoted phrase of Tertullian, which is therefore best dealt with in this place. Tertullian, who habitually calls the consecrated bread the Body of our Lord, once speaks of it as a *figure* of His Body. Controversial writers who hold that it is a figure of our Lord's Body, but not really His Body at all, and who could not be hired to use Tertullian's *habitual* language, pounce upon this place as showing that Tertullian, and all the early Christians, thought with them. Here are Tertullian's words, arguing against the Gnostic Marcion, who would not acknowledge that our Lord could have had a real body of flesh: "The bread which He took and distributed to His disciples, that He made to be a Body of His, saying, *This is My Body*,—that is, the figure of My Body. A figure, however, there could not have been, unless there were first a veritable Body." Plainly, Tertullian holds, with Irenæus

and Justin, that the consecrated bread is made to be a true Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, that "Body of His," which the Church knows so well, being a second Body, so to say, and thus a figure and likeness of the original Body. "He made bread to be His Sacramental Body, and thereby a figure of His Natural Body," so runs the argument, "and He could not have given us a symbol of His Natural Body, if His Natural Body had not had a real existence of its own." Certainly, Tertullian, thus calling the hallowed bread a "figure" would never have acknowledged that it was "a *mere* figure," carrying no great Divine Presence of its own.

3. Our illustrations of the doctrine of Irenæus are not given to show how he was beginning to depart from previously prevailing habits of Christian thought. The case stands precisely the other way. In Irenæus, with his intense conservatism, his constant anxiety to hold the Church to the teachings of the "elders," we have just the man to give us a faithful report of what was commonly, and as one may say, centrally, believed in the latter part of the second century. And what is still more important, if there was any difference between the general Christian beliefs of that time and those of fifty or sixty years before, he at any rate did not realize it, had no suspicion of it. Irenæus is always a witness. What he speaks is matter of long tradition and general consent. This is the case even with the third and last subject on which we are now to hear his teaching, the subject of "the last things."

When such a man as Irenæus writes that "the day of the Lord is as a thousand years, and in six days created things were completed; it is evident, therefore, that they will come to an end at the six thousandth year," it is pretty sure from his general habit of mind that he is giving us a piece of argument that was commonly held as good in his time. Yet Irenæus, like Justin Martyr a generation earlier, makes a clear distinction between points which a man *must* believe to be a good Christian, and others which *he* was sure of, which the majority of Christians held, but which any Christian was at liberty to reject. In the class of necessary truths came two great revelations,—that Jesus Christ will come again in the body of His flesh to judge the quick and the dead, and that all the dead will have a bodily resurrection, without which none can enter into the fulness of their heavenly reward. In the class of truths generally held in the Church, but not made a condition of communion or a measure of orthodoxy, came the opinion that the whole Jewish people would be converted in the last days, and restored to their own land to occupy Jerusalem gloriously rebuilt, a general line of extremely literal interpretations of the Old Testament, as for instance, that in the new earth the lion will really *eat straw like the ox*, and the belief that there will be two literal resurrections from the grave, one of God's covenant people of all the ages, rising from death and *caught up to meet the Lord in the air*, and then, after *a thousand years* (cf. Rev. xx. 4–6), a general resurrection of all *the rest of the dead*, leading up to such a judgment as that of St.

Matthew xxv. 31–46, in which even the saved are obviously persons who had not known Christ and His Gospel, when on earth.

The present writer sympathizes profoundly with the early Church in much of its thought about these matters, a kind of thought from which the Church of the next century curiously swung away; but he feels bound to exhibit a part of Irenæus's thought with which no one now can possibly sympathize, and it seems proper first to remark that it should occasion no surprise if in the Church's childhood some of the Church's favorite ideas were childish. In all the main lines of its theology, one may fairly claim, the Church was guided and safe-guarded by a faithful tradition of our Lord's teaching, and of the teaching of that most manly theologian, St. Paul. Of course, on the other hand, such traditions could not cover the whole field of Old and New Testament interpretation. Left to itself the second century mind was apt to be painfully literal, turning poetry into prose. Nay, even what passed as tradition was not always true. For Irenæus quotes "the elders who saw John, the disciple of the Lord," as saying—he mentions Papias by name as having written it in a book—that they had heard from him how the Lord used to teach in regard to these times. Then follow words which St. John was supposed to have quoted from our Lord Himself:

"The days will come in which vines shall grow, each having ten thousand branches, and in each branch ten thousand twigs, and in each true twig ten thousand shoots, and in each one of the shoots

ten thousand clusters, and on every one of the clusters ten thousand grapes, and every grape when pressed will give five and twenty *metretæ* [as if one should say 200 gallons] of wine. And when any one of the saints shall lay hold of a cluster, another shall cry out, 'I am a better cluster, take me; bless the Lord through me.'"

Some unrecorded parable of our Lord may, indeed, have been coarsened into this, but we feel a world of difference between its tone and that of our New Testaments. Perhaps there is more trace of a real memory of our Lord's teaching in another quotation from the "elders" on differences of reward in the future life,—

"Then those who are deemed worthy of an abode in Heaven shall go there, others shall enjoy the delights of Paradise, and others shall possess the splendors of the City; for everywhere the Saviour shall be seen according as they who see Him shall be worthy."

At least, our Irenæus with his indiscriminating literalism is more worthy, and sees more of God, than one who narrows and stiffens his mind against receiving words from God at all.

II. *Tertullian.* We have now to turn to a different scene and to a curiously different character. From southern France we cross the Mediterranean to that great, proud, luxurious merchant city of Carthage, once Rome's dreaded rival, now greatest of Rome's subject cities in the West. From a Church which spoke the Celtic tongue of Gaul, something akin to modern Welsh or Irish, but whose merchants

had Greek connections, and whose educated people preferred to read books in Greek, we turn to a Church which spoke a Semitic language, the Punic, of the same family with Hebrew, but far separated from it, and whose educated men depended rather upon Latin as the tongue of literature and learning. Our new hero is to be in a sense the founder of Latin Christianity, for it was he who first wrote books of Christian doctrine and practice in the Latin tongue, and by coining new words to express Christian ideas, or taking old words and pouring Christian meaning into them, made for the Church a Latin speech. We may well regard with solemn interest the Church which produced the first Latin Bible, and the writer who more than any other determined in what Latin words the Church should embody her teaching.[1] Yet it may not be denied that the Church was a bad Church, and the great

[1] As an example of the importance of such determinations, take the word for "baptize." Commonly the Greek word is carried into the new tongue bodily as in the "baptize" of the English, or "*baptizare*" of the Latin Bible. Tertullian met the difficulty squarely. The Greek had in it two ideas, more or less pronouncedly apparent in different uses, "dip" and "dye." "Dip" was in Latin "*mergere*"; "dye" was "*tingere*." We may compare "submerge" and "tincture." Tertullian, believing that the chief thought of the New Testament word was that of changing the quality of an object by the free application of fluid, boldly used *tingere* as his word for the baptismal act. It was to him a matter of spiritual regeneration, not of material submersion. There was much theology in calling baptism a *dyeing* of a man, so that his soul and all his life took on another color in the laver of regeneration. To translate Tertullian's word by "sprinkle," as in *De Baptismo* ii., or by "immerse," as in *Adversus Praxeam* xxvi., is grossly unfair to Tertullian's deliberate intention. Other words which appear first in Tertullian in their Christian meaning are *Trinitas*, *Persona*, *Substantia*, *Sacramentum*, and *Liberum Arbitrium* (for "free will").

writer hopelessly on the wrong side of some of the chief questions of the Church's life.

Why was the Church of Carthage a bad Church? It was, as in the case of the Phrygians, largely a matter of heredity. The original Libyan race was of a good stock. It survives in the tribes of the Berbers to this day, but Christianity did not go out into its hills and conquer it. Masters of the Gentile coast-line and the wealth-producing mines for centuries, had been the Phœnicians, or as they called themselves all through, Canaanites, an off-shoot from those nations which had become so corrupted that God Himself had ordered their destruction 1,500 years before. "They brought with them," says Archbishop Benson in his *Cyprian*, "worships which had the fascinations of orgy, cruelty, and secrecy, worships ever deadliest to the religion of revelation." The worship of Moloch with children passed through the altar-fires, the worship of Astarte, with consecrated licentiousness, these were among the forces that had been brutalizing Carthaginian character for ages. And now the race was a conquered race with tone lowered by loss of national independence. Why conquered, also? And the answer is, partly because it had been undermined by its own earlier degradations. "Punic faith" had been for generations a byword for treachery. Before Carthage ceased to be an independent power, its political life was honeycombed with shameless bribery, which the Rome of the same period would have rewarded with death.

A traveller, writing in the fourth century, calls the Africans of his day "faithless and cunning." "There

may be some good people among them, but not many." Those who know anything of the deadly strifes of Catholic and Donatist in that period will recognize that a singularly low type of Christianity prevailed in North Africa, even when it was supposed to have become a Christian land. Later still, the monk Salvian mourns that it took an invasion of heretic Vandals to purge the corruption of a Christian people. Earnestness will make martyrs in any age. The second century had hundreds and thousands of them. But it has taken centuries of earnestness to produce such standards of Christian living as bind even our slack Christians of to-day. Earnestness grows at once out of any true conversion, but it takes a great while for high attainment to grow out of earnestness. Africa could produce martyrs more readily than saints. Some saints, indeed, it had, but the average of its religious life was low.

Into such an atmosphere was born Tertullian, the son of a centurion in the Roman army, and presumably of Roman, not Carthaginian, stock, a soldier's son with a soldier's heart in him, destined to be a hero of the militant Church, and perhaps the most remarkable man of his day in the whole western world, but not a saint. When he was born, when he became a Christian, when he died, no scholar knows. The wisest guessers put his birth about A. D. 150. He is said to have lived to a great age, which could hardly be less than eighty. His activity as a writer seems to have begun about A. D. 197, and to have lasted between twenty and thirty years. He had a remarkably good education, read widely,

mastered much, could write books in Greek as in Latin, though none of his Greek works survive, studied law, and made himself, if we may trust Eusebius in this matter, "one of the most distinguished men at Rome." All that we know of his life as a Christian belongs to Carthage, but Christian he was not at first. "Christians are made, not born so," is one of his sayings. He was brought up in heathen views and in heathen vices. Then he saw a great new light, and threw the whole force of an eager, passionate, but really powerful nature into the service of Jesus Christ. Writing a treatise in praise of *Patience*, he mourns that he is so unfit to teach that lesson, being "an extremely wretched fellow, always in a fever of impatience," himself. Such a man was not likely to be a learner long before he began to be a teacher. One may guess that Tertullian's conversion did not much precede his first Christian writing,—a beautiful and wise address to some martyrs in prison,—and that his ordination as a presbyter followed very closely after his first literary effort in the cause of Christ. From that date, 197, we cannot assign more than seven years,—it may not have been more than three,—before he had imbibed the notions of the "new prophecy" and the "dispensation of the Paraclete."

Tertullian is essentially a writer. His books are the chief measure of his effect upon the history of his age. They are too long and too many to be passed in review here, but it should be said that with Tertullian a long book was sure to be a book rich in ideas. He always filled his sentences with meaning.

As for his style, it is hard to represent in English. Perhaps only another Tertullian could imagine how Tertullian would have used our speech. "It is terse, abrupt, laconic, sententious, nervous," says Doctor Schaff, "figurative, full of hyperbole, sudden turns, legal technicalities, African provincialisms, or rather antiquated or vulgar Latinisms. It abounds in Latinized Greek words and new expressions, in roughnesses, angles, and obscurities, sometimes like a grand volcanic eruption, belching precious stones and dross in strange confusion, or like the foaming torrent, tumbling over the precipice of rocks, and carrying all before it." "For his opponents he had as little indulgence and regard as Martin Luther. With the adroitness of a special pleader, he entangles them in self-contradictions, . . . overwhelms them with arguments, sophisms, apothegms, and sarcasms, . . . His polemics everywhere leave marks of blood. It is a wonder that he was not killed by the heathens, or excommunicated by the Catholics."

This witness is true. Our impatient brother was not a *fair* man. He is one of those intense partisans who do not convince as often as they really might have, if they had not been so feverishly anxious to make points against the people on the other side. He sometimes deserves a sarcasm like Bishop Kaye's (*Account of the Writings of Tertullian*, p. 421), where he says of a certain passage, "It is hard to decide which of these three arguments is least conclusive." Yet this is a great man withal. His many books—there remains to us enough of his writing to fill seven or eight volumes like this—may be distributed

into three classes: Apologetic, defending Christianity against heathen and Jew; Dogmatic, contending for the Catholic faith and doctrine against heretics; Practical, dealing with questions of Christian life and duty. We must be content with noting a few points that come out in the study of these different groups of writings.

1. The Apologetic works are notable in the first place for their number and variety. Besides the book known as *The Apology*, an exceptionally strong and interesting one, there are an *Address to the Nations*, an *Answer to the Jews*, an *Appeal to Scapula*,—Scapula was the name of a persecuting pro-consul of Africa in the year 211,—and a little tract on *The Testimony of the Soul*. This outpouring suggests that along with the fiery zeal of the advocate there really was some large opportunity for getting a hearing for his copious eloquence. Tertullian, eager as he was to speak, was too practical to go on talking to empty benches. If he wrote such a series of apologetics, it means that such volumes were coming to be widely read. In close connection with this point is another. The new apologist has a new confidence in his tone. In the very first chapter of the Apology he claims as the great proof of Christianity, that its opponents regularly become converts, when they get to know anything about it. "The outcry is that the State is filled with Christians,—that they are in the fields, in the citadels, in the islands. People make lamentation, as for some calamity, that both sexes, every age and condition, even high rank, are passing over to the profession of the Christian faith. And yet for

all, their minds are not awakened to the thought of some good they have failed to notice in it."

In a like spirit Tertullian argues in chapter xxxvii. against the charge of treason brought because Christians would not pay divine honors to the emperors. Think how Christians are treated, is his plea, how you magistrates torture and slay them, how mobs stone them, and burn their houses, and even tear their dead from the graves to heap abuses upon them,—"No burial-places for the Christians!" was actually a popular cry at one time,—and then how enormous their number has come to be, how closely banded together they are, how utterly without fear of death. "Yet banded together as we are, ever so ready to sacrifice our lives, what single case of revenge for injury can you point to, though if it were held right among us to repay evil by evil, a single night with a torch or two could achieve an ample vengeance? . . . We are but of yesterday, and we have filled every place among you,—cities, islands, fortresses, towns, market-places, even your soldiers' camps, tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum,—we have left you nothing but your temples!"

So in his *Answer to the Jews* he comments on *Their sound is gone out into all lands*, and reckons among nations which have believed, "the varied races of the Gætulians, and manifold confines of the Moors, all the limits of the Spains, and the diverse nations of the Gauls, and the haunts of the Britons, inaccessible to the Romans, but subjugated to Christ, and of the Sarmatians, and Dacians, and Germans, and Scythians, and of many remote nations, and of prov-

inces and islands, many to us unknown, and which we can scarce enumerate."[1] So, when after a few years of rest, persecution was breaking out again, he addresses his protest to the new pro-consul, Scapula, and tells him (*Ad Scapulam* ii. and v.) that Christians are almost the majority in every city, and that if he persists in trying to destroy them he must decimate Carthage to do it. "The more you mow us down, the more you make us grow. The blood of Christians is seed" (*Apol.* l.). That note of triumph is sounded by Tertullian, as by no apologist before.

Out of the *Ad Scapulam* one ought to quote a fine passage far in advance of the age, and a little in advance of the writer himself in some of his moods: "It is a fundamental human right, a privilege of nature, that every man should worship according to his own convictions. One man's religion neither helps

[1] Of course, this is more rhetorical than historical. A very few converts in each nation would suffice, and perhaps Tertullian put in some very distant tribes without waiting to hear from them definitely. More especially, students who have not studied should receive with great distrust any statements about the Early British Church. There was one. It sent to a Council at Arles, then *Arelate*, a town in Southern Gaul, three bishops,—those of London, York, and another see, which may have been Lincoln, and may have been Cær-Leon on Usk. "It was a poor and struggling Church," says Mr. Wakeman (*Introduction to the History of the Church of England*, pp. 1, 2), "which exercised but little influence over the Celtic inhabitants of the country,—the Church mainly of the poorer Roman provincials. It derived its existence, its ritual, and its orders from its richer neighbor, the Church of Gaul. During two hundred years of life under the Roman eagles it produced no great man, built no great building, endured no serious persecution, sent out no missionaries, and was obliged to appeal to Gaul for help in its internal difficulties." For our period its only really known names are those of the three bishops at Arles, and that of its first martyr, the Roman soldier Alban, A. D. 304, who was made a Christian and suffered death for it in a single day.

nor harms another man. It is assuredly no part of religion to compel religion." The same spirit of respect for the human conscience and corresponding trust in it comes out in a place (*Apol.* xvii.), where he is speaking of the habitual phrases of even heathen speech, with its "gods many,"—"God is good," "God grant it," "God sees all," as if recognizing by some instinct that there must be one Supreme Being. "Oh! noble testimony," he says, "of the soul, which is in its nature Christian!" That idea he shortly after embodied in a separate book, *On the Testimony of the Soul*, insisting on the natural correspondence of the soul, which is God's creature, with Christianity, which is God's revelation.

2. With Tertullian's temper and gifts it was a matter of course that he should be a controversialist, and he wrote voluminously against the heresies of the day. Five books *Against Marcion*, followed up by special treatises *On the Flesh of Christ*, and *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*, and a book *Against the Valentinians*, defended the Church's faith on the side of Gnostic heresy. A book *Against Hermogenes* and another *On the Soul* were directed against a local writer who offended this Puritan Tertullian specially deeply by being an artist and by marrying several times. He had married more women than he had painted, Tertullian declared in his bitterness. It is notable that in the book *On the Soul* he maintains that souls are not incorporeal. A very gifted sister in his congregation had once had a soul shown to her when she fell into an "ecstasy" in time of service, and she told him all about it afterwards. Late

in his career belo gs his treatise nominally *Against Praxeas*, whom he had already brought back, but really against the progress of the Sabellian heresy, which Praxeas had forsaken. We must confine our attention to an early controversial work, in which he restates the position which we have seen taken by Irenæus.

On the Prescription of Heretics. That is the title of this remarkable work, and in that title the whole argument is condensed. *Præscriptio* was a law-term for a plea which got in ahead of the other party to a suit, and showed that for some reason he had no standing in court at all. Such a plea, says Tertullian, has the Catholic Church, contending with Heresy before the tribunal of Reason. Heresy will claim to be heard out of Holy Scripture. Heresy will encourage itself with the promise, *Seek, and ye shall find.* The answer is a plea in prescription. Jesus Christ taught certain truths to His Apostles. The Apostles went forth and founded Churches. "From this, therefore," he says, (chapter xxi.), "we draw up our rule, that since the Lord Jesus Christ sent the Apostles to preach, no others ought to be received as preachers than those whom Christ appointed." The idea is that there can be no other original sources of knowledge, no other persons who can claim to have had a special revelation. This cuts off the founders of new religions, like the Gnostic systems. There follows presently another rule. It is a natural consequence. Agreement with the Churches descended from the Apostles is laid down as a condition of understanding the meaning of

Holy Scripture rightly. "Seeking" must have the truth for its object. If God has given you a body of certain truth, it will do you no good to seek or to find ideas which contradict that truth. The Church is the place where light shines. "You have found, when you have believed." "Let our seeking, therefore, be in that which is our own, and from those who are our own, and concerning that which is our own, that, and only that, which can become an object of enquiry without impairing the rule of faith." Saving the one central "faith," the field of enquiry is free on every side. Tertullian and Irenæus both maintain that liberty. Only the enquirer must remember always that our Lord said, *Thy faith hath saved thee*, not skill in interpreting the Scriptures. "Faith is fixed in a rule. It has a law, and in the observance thereof salvation."

The argument deserves consideration. Our perceptions are blunted to it, in these days, because we are accustomed to see Churches put mere matters of opinion into "Creeds" and make them conditions of fellowship. Again, we look back to the Middle Ages, and we see that at that time agreement with the Churches would have required a man to accept what we consider corruptions of primitive Christianity. But Tertullian's rule, if it had been followed, would have prevented creeds of the modern order from being manufactured at all. It expressly forbade a Creed that was not of divine origin in its substance. And as to Mediæval corruptions, Tertullian did not ask men to agree with the Churches in all their ideas, nor even in all their interpretations

of Scripture, but only in their tradition as to what had been declared to be *necessary* truths by the Infallible Revealer, Jesus Christ. There are three historical possibilities about the first Christian Creed-making. (*a*) Our Lord told His followers what elements of truth to make a Creed of, and they preserved those elements in a faithful tradition. (*b*) Our Lord gave the elements which He considered essential, but His followers did not preserve them accurately. (*c*) Our Lord never gave men any such distinctive instruction as to truths which were to be held as an essential Creed, but His followers here and there began after a time to make such Creeds for themselves. Tertullian makes the claim, and it would seem to be a fair one, that the first of these suppositions is the only one which is consistent with such a fact as he actually had before him,—the fact that all Christian Churches professed to have a faith authoritative and certain, and that they all agreed as to what that faith was. It is worth while to compare Tertullian's statement of the rule of faith (*Prescription*, xiii.) with that which we have quoted from Irenæus (p. 262).

"Now with regard to this rule of faith,—that we may from this point know what it is which we are to defend,—it is, you must know, that which prescribes the belief that there is one only God, and that He is none other than the Creator of the world, who produced all things out of nothing through His own Word, first of all sent forth; that this Word is called His Son, and under the name of God was seen in diverse manners by the patriarchs, heard at all

times in the prophets, at last brought down by the Spirit and Power of the Father into the Virgin Mary, was made flesh in her womb, and being born of her, went forth as Jesus Christ; thenceforth He preached the new law and the new promise of the Kingdom of Heaven and worked miracles; having been crucified, He rose again the third day; then, having been caught away into the heavens, He sat at the right hand of the Father; sent in His place the Power of the Holy Ghost to lead such as believe; will come with glory to take the saints to the enjoyment of everlasting life and of the heavenly promises, and to condemn the wicked to everlasting fire, after the resurrection of both these classes shall have happened, together with the restoration of their flesh. This rule, as it will be proved, was taught by Christ, and raises amongst ourselves no other questions than those which heresies introduce, and which make men heretics."

3. In approaching Tertullian's practical writings, we are met by the problem of his Montanism. How could one who held that the Catholic Church was a messenger from Jesus, teaching infallibly a certain faith, fall away into a rival movement? The answer to the difficulty is that Montanism presented itself to men not as a rival of the Catholic Church, but as its natural continuation. Montanism held every portion of the Catholic Faith. Its heresy, if heresy it may be called, consisted, as with modern Romanism, and a great deal of modern Protestantism, in adding to the original faith of the Church some further elements held now to be necessary for men to believe. Ter-

tullian had what seemed to him irresistible proof that certain statements were a heavenly revelation. Montanism came and said, "Here is an additional revelation." The proof of the alleged new revelations seems to us very insufficient, but on this side Tertullian was weak, and on this side he fell.

The amount of his fall has been greatly exaggerated. Generally speaking, people who accepted the new prophesyings as from God, could not go on indefinitely in one communion and fellowship with people who thought them a delusion; but there is no proof that such a separation came in Tertullian's lifetime. If he had been excommunicated at Carthage during the time of his literary activity, we should have heard of it. He would have foamed at the mouth, if those whom he called "Psychics" had dared so to insult the "Spirituals." Again, he never allowed his followers to excommunicate the Psychics. "We withdrew from the Psychics," he certainly says in the *Praxeas* (i.), but the phrase seems to mean no more than "I left the High Churchmen," or "I parted company with the Evangelicals." For even his bitter tract *De Monogamia* ("On Single Marriage") contains a striking acknowledgment that the Psychics are part of the Catholic Church. He contrasts Gnostics, forbidding all marriage, and ordinary Christians, allowing second marriages, and he does it in these words: "Heretics do away marriages; Psychics accumulate them." "The former marry not even once," he goes on; "the latter, not only once. What dost thou, Law of the Creator? Between alien eunuchs and thine own grooms, thou

complainest as much of the over-obedience of thine own household, as of the contempt of strangers." "Psychics" is a very hard word, much harder than "Puseyites," "Methodists," "Ritualists," or "Rationalists." But hard words break no bones. Tertullian distinctly recognizes non-Montanist Christians as belonging to the "household" of the divine law, and as being no "heretics." And yet, while not separated from the communion of the Church, Tertullian did fall. From the noble sweetness of his *Address to the Martyrs* to the ugly bitterness of his most immodest treatise, *On Modesty*, is a deep descent. In his Montanism there was more than an intellectual mistake. There was a moral failure.

It was really Tertullian's impatience that betrayed him. In times of religious revival, or when men are praying and longing for a revival of religion,—and that is itself revival,—schemes of new organization, new machinery, new discipline, something that one has not seen tried before, will always have a great attraction for ardent minds. Montanism offered a new discipline, a prospect of new revelations,—heaven opened every Sunday, one might say,—and the remedy for careless living most dear to the Puritan conscience in every age, that of making the yoke of Christ harder than it had seemed to men before, so hard, indeed, that no one would even try to wear it, who had not the spirit of supreme self-surrender. The scheme has never worked well. It does not keep out hypocrisy. It does not exclude selfishness. It has never in all history made a separatist, Puritan Church holier, either in the num-

ber of its saints, or in the height of attainment of its very best people, than the Catholic Church of the same time and country.[1] But at least Tertullian had not seen the experiment tried.

Some of the practical treatises show but little of the radical and Puritan temper. Such are those on *Prayer*, on *Patience*, and on *Baptism*, though this last, allowing baptism by a layman in case of necessity, refuses to recognize the possibility of Christ's baptism being administered by a woman. Most of the practical works deal with subjects which were troubling the radical party at Carthage, and these may be ranged under five heads: persecution, restoration of penitents, women's dress, fasting, liberty of marriage.

(1) Concerning the first of these, Tertullian has two tractates, *On Flight in Persecution* and *On the Chaplet*. The former makes reasonable objection to the practice of Christians who bribed the authorities to let them go. The latter, occupied with a case of folly where a soldier refused to wear a laurel-crown in honor of a victory, would not be worth noticing but for a remarkable enumeration of Christian usages in chapter iii. "Holy Scripture forbids no man to wear a crown of laurel," pleaded some sensible Christians. "We have no such custom," is Tertullian's reply, and he goes on to show how much is settled for Christians by usage with no Scripture to back it up. "I shall begin," he says, "with baptism.

[1] Thus one may compare Richard Hooker, and Bishop Lancelot Andrews, and George Herbert, and Nicholas Ferrar, of the Church of England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with the Puritan congregations at Leyden and Amsterdam.

When we are going to enter the water, and a little before, in the Church and under the hand of the chief minister, we solemnly profess that we disown the devil and his pomp and his angels. Hereupon we are thrice immersed, making a somewhat ampler pledge than the Lord appointed in the Gospel. Then when we have been acknowledged as children of the Church,[1] we taste first of all a mixture of milk and honey, and from that day we refrain from the daily bath for a whole week. We take also in assemblies before daybreak and from the hand of none but the chief ministers the Sacrament of the Eucharist, which the Lord delivered to the whole Church, and at a meal-time. We make offerings for the dead, as birthday honors, as often as their anniversary comes round. On the Lord's Day we count fasting or kneeling in prayer unlawful. From Easter to Whitsunday also we rejoice in the same privilege. We feel pained if aught of our wine, or even of our bread, be spilled on the ground. At every forward step and movement, at every going in or out, when we put on our clothes and shoes, when we bathe, when we take our places at the table, when we light the lamps, when we lie down, when we seat ourselves, whatever employment occupieth us, we sign our foreheads with the sign."

The "sign" just referred to is that of the cross. The "ampler pledge" at baptisms is the current form of Creed as distinguished from the simple

[1] Literally, "when we have been *taken up*," with reference to a Roman custom, whereby a father took up a newborn son in his arms to acknowledge him formally as his own.

formula, "I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost." The refraining from the daily bath was evidently suggested by St. John xiii. 10. The custom of standing in prayer on Sundays and through the seven weeks of the Paschal season was sanctioned by the Council of Nicæa, A. D. 325, and is mentioned (at least the Sunday use) by Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mainz, in the middle of the ninth century. Tertullian is the first writer who mentions the Church's habit of praying for the Christian dead, but he speaks of it in several treatises, and always as of a natural and universal practice. There is no hint in the writers of our period that the prayers were to deliver souls from pain. They are always referred to rather as being at rest. But nobody dreamed that Christian souls departed could be beyond the need of God's blessing, nor yet that there could be any harm in asking Him to give it, so that His loving gift might be the Church's gift too.

(2) As regards the treatment of penitents the judgments of the Post-Apostolic Church were apt to be very severe. If there is one thing that our age lacks especially, it is an awful sense of the sinfulness of sin. That sense the early Church had, and under the burden of it the Church could not make light of grave sins committed by any who had once been made members of Christ. One who had become a murderer, an adulterer, an apostate, could not readily be restored to communion, "though he sought it carefully, with tears." A public penance lasting for a term of years was the least bar that the Church would put in the way of such an offender.

Hermas had spoken of the case of adultery, as one for which there was to be pardon on repentance, "but not frequently. For there is but one repentance for the servants of God" (Mandate iv.) If a Christian fell twice into great and open sin, he must go unabsolved to his death. Does this sound stern? It was too lax for the stricter judges of the second century. They read such places as Heb. vi. 4–8, x. 26–29, so misunderstandingly as to forget the example of St. Paul's dealing with the incestuous Corinthian (1 Cor. v., 2 Cor. ii.), and insisted that no grave sin after baptism could be put away in this world at all. Tertullian, who in his book *On Repentance* had taken the view of "one restoration," and had spoken of Hermas with respect, came to be a most bitter partisan of the harsher view, and in his book *On Modesty* spoke sneeringly of that "Shepherd of adulterers."

(3) The subject of women's dress has engaged the attention of reformers in all ages, from Isaiah to John Knox, and later. Tertullian could not withhold his fluent pen from such a theme. *On Women's Dress* is a book much like other books. *On the Veiling of Virgins* does more to illustrate the times. It was Carthaginian custom for married women to have their heads veiled in public places, and for unmarried women to be distinguished by the absence of the veil. There was an awkwardness for umarried women in dressing in a way that was generally regarded as belonging exclusively to married women. But then there was St. Paul's direction that women should wear their heads covered in Church. Con-

servatives maintained, somewhat audaciously, that St. Paul meant only "wives." The radicals were angered by such a plea, and they found, apparently, a third party still more provoking, whose unmarried women did wear veils abroad for protection against heathen license, but carefully removed them in Church, in their old way. "Nothing to excite bitterness here," says the modern reader. But no! Matters of form are always matters of feeling somewhat particularly. Men did grow very bitter, and with Tertullian almost every argument is an insult. Here occurs, however, one of his fine sayings: "Our Lord Jesus Christ surnamed Himself Truth, not Usage."

(4) In the matter of fasting, as in the treatment of penitents, we have a measure of the distance that separates us from the ante-Nicene Church. "I have a station," says Hermas (Similitude v.), and when the Shepherd asks him what that is,[1] "I am fasting," is his reply. *Statio* was the Latin for sentry-duty, and the Church's idea of "standing sentry" was to give a day to fasting, with special prayers, from early morning till 3 P. M. The Church had two such days in every week,—Wednesday, marked by our Lord's betrayal, and Friday, the day of His death. Again, no Christian ever thought of receiving the Lord's Body and Blood in the Eucharist otherwise than fasting. Then there was the great annual fast of the Friday and Saturday before Easter, the days in which the Bridegroom was taken away, a fast which some Christians carried out for forty hours, without

[1] Evidently the word was very new even to Hermas, or he would not have lugged in an explanation of it in this way.

relief, day and night. Occasionally also the bishop of a diocese appointed a fast-day, and "fast-day" then meant a whole day of going absolutely without food. To eat nothing till 3 P. M., was only a *semi-jejunium*, a half-fast. That would do for the "stationary days," week by week, but a real fast-day was something more. Finally, some very devoted persons added to their fasts a "xerophagy," a dry-food diet, which meant that when they did come to eat anything, they would still swallow no water, no milk, no broth, no! not even fruit-juice, to moisten their dry lips. Such was the fasting of second century Christians. They could not have understood in the very least a religion which professed to follow the example or the precept of Jesus Christ, and excused people wholly from the discipline of fasting.

The reforming party were by no means satisfied with what seems to us such severity. They clamored for "stations" protracted to the vesper hour, full-fasts instead of half-fasts, on Wednesday and Friday. They claimed to have had revelations demanding this extension of the rule of fasting, and also a "xerophagy" of two weeks in every year, the Lord's Day, of course, excluded. No Christian would think of fasting on that day of joy. But not only did those who called themselves "spirituals" demand this harder discipline. They raged horribly against all who would not fall in with it. Christians who fasted till mid-afternoon twice a week are said to be "bursting with gluttony;" compared with the Children of Israel, who "preferred the fragrance of garlic and onion to that of heaven;" contrasted with

the "spiritual" man, "whose heart is rather lifted up than fattened up;" warned that lust is close akin to gluttony such as theirs. Surely, never was self-denial more lacking in self-restraint. And yet—reformers in all ages have been just like that, as severe in abstinence, as lax in uncharity and abuse of brethren.

(5) One point more, which is that of the Christian man's liberty in the matter of marriage. Again it is hard for us to understand the Christian mind at the close of the second century. We must make an effort to think back. In a corrupt society all good things are corrupted, and the heathen society of those days was awfully corrupt. Noble ideals were rotted away, and what ought to have been the noble institution of marriage had become in fact an ignoble commerce. It has taken ages for the Gospel to restore those holy relations of man and wife to God's ideal. Nay, we have not reached that splendid height even yet. But when Tertullian was alive, even the Christian idea of marriage was pitifully low. There were Christians that thought of it as some men now think of profane language, as an indulgence low and lowering in itself, but which must be conceded in practice as a safety-valve to the ungoverned feeling of the average man. It is a sad thing to have to confess, and it is a measure of the social degradation out of which Christ had to raise His early followers, but it is a simple fact. Hence come the many canons of Church Councils forbidding to the clergy marriage after ordination, or prohibiting the ordination of any man who had been married more than once, or in later times prohibit-

ing the clergy from living in the relation of honorable marriage at all.[1] Among a people in such a condition of mind a radical party would naturally try to limit freedom of marriage. Even comparatively early in Tertullian's career as a writer he addresses a treatise in two books *To His Wife* (*Ad Uxorem*), in which he urges a modest widowhood as at least far superior to second marriage for women. After he came thoroughly under the influence of the "new prophesyings" he went on to insist that both for women and for men second marriages were positively sinful and a deep disgrace. Three books present Tertullian's later views in an ascending scale of passion, *On the Exhortation to Chastity*, *On Single Marriage*, (*De Monogamia*), and *On Modesty* (*De Pudicitia*). Even in the first of these the very title is an offence to right feeling, as if a second marriage was a breach of the law of chastity, but Tertullian does not scruple to tell us (in chapter ix.) that so is any marriage at all. The later books grow worse and worse, but even the mildest of the three (the work, be it remembered, of an exceptionally devoted Christian) is not fit for a modern Christian to read. The *De Exhortatione* contains one much quoted passage where Tertullian, arguing from the prohibition of clerical second marriages, presses upon his hearers that they are all priests. "It is the authority of the Church . . . which has established the difference be-

[1] The prohibition of a second marriage to a presbyter by St. Paul (1 Tim. iii. 2) would seem to rest on quite another ground,—the office of the Christian priest as a type of the invisible Christ, who is the Head of one undivided Body, the heavenly Bridegroom with but one possible Bride.

tween the Order [the clergy] and the laity. Accordingly, where there is no joint session of the ecclesiastical Order, you offer, and baptize, and are priest, alone for yourself. For where there are three, there is a Church, though they be laymen." This is quoted as if it were common Church doctrine of those days. On the contrary, it is pure Montanism. Tertullian himself had in his book *On Baptism* (vi.) made out that the "three" on whose presence a Church depended were the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. That three "spiritual" laymen were a Church sufficient to celebrate the Eucharist is a doctrine for which no other great name can be alleged in the Church's first three centuries of life. It is claimed by some modern writers that Montanism is the true representative of the Apostolic Church. "That which called itself the Catholic Church is the new growth," they say, "and Montanism represents the last struggle of an expiring spirituality." It is a false spirituality which takes hold of such a man as Tertullian, so gifted and really so conscientious, and makes him run riot in pride and ugliness and moral coarseness.

III. *Hippolytus.* Among the treasures of the Vatican is a statue with a curious history. It represents a dignified ecclesiastic sitting in a marble chair, on the back and sides of which are carved a list of books, evidently the works of the seated figure, and a table for finding Easter for seven sixteen-year periods from A. D. 222 to 333. The "noble features and high, commanding brow" will not be dwelt on here, for they are the work of a

modern sculptor. The statue was found headless in some rubbish in 1551. But the chair is the great thing. The list of works shows that we have here a monument set up by contemporary friends in honor of Hippolytus, a great teacher of the Roman Church, who was banished in 235, and died within three years after. By contemporary friends, we say, for the table for finding the days of Paschal full moons was sadly faulty. Even in the year 236 its full moon was four days out of the way. A few years more, and its faults must have become so glaring that friends would rather have kept it back. It is even possible that the statue was set up in the lifetime of the writer so much admired. But that is not the probable reason why one of his chief works is not named on the chair at all.

That work which finds no mention on the chair came near disappearing out of Christian history altogether. The first of its ten books, indeed, was known to scholars, but by none ascribed to the true author, till in 1842 a manuscript was found in a Greek monastery library, which contained the last seven books of the *Philosophoumena* or *Refutation of All Heresies*, and threw a flood of rather lurid light upon the history of Christian Rome in the first quarter of the third century. The writer alludes to other works of his in a way which shows him to be no other than Hippolytus. He speaks of himself as a bishop. He lives in Rome. He is bitterly opposed to two successive Roman bishops, Zephyrinus (198–217) and Callistus (217-222). He speaks of Zephyrinus as *thinking* that he

governs the Church, of Callistus as setting up a heretical school and receiving into his fellowship persons whom Hippolytus and his associates had visited with excommunication. So far the ninth book of the *Philosophoumena.*

Was Hippolytus, then the first example of an anti-pope? Some have thought so, but in that case all the great sees would have been notified of his schism, and the story would be well known. Eusebius knew of him as a voluminous writer and eminent bishop, but could not tell of what Church. Jerome was in the same difficulty. A faint and late tradition connects his name with *Portus,* the harbor-town through which Rome's foreign commerce mostly went to sea. Bishop Lightfoot seems to have found the one explanation which fits all the facts. Our Hippolytus was a leading presbyter of the Roman Church, and was made a sort of bishop-coadjutor to the bishop of Rome, in the days of the imperious Victor, in order to provide for the spiritual wants of foreigners living at Rome, or visiting Rome, and unable or unwilling to use the Latin speech. There is reason to believe that Hippolytus lived at Rome, and that the underground cemetery where he was buried was on his own property, but that he was called "bishop of the nationalities," or some such title, and that he really had a great deal to do with Portus, which was a natural headquarters for foreigners having business with the imperial city, for sailors, merchants, bankers, interpreters, couriers, and the whole line of foreign travel. We seem to have reached a time of transition. Victor, with his

thoroughly Latin name, is not a representative of that Greek-speaking population with which the Church in Rome began. He represents not only a Latin membership coming up at last, but one strong enough to elect a bishop from its own ranks. The foreign element, the element that would have preferred a bishop from a Greek family, must still have been very strong. It was both wise and kind to take the chief presbyter of that section of the Church, and make him a sort of suffragan-bishop, with an especial oversight of all the foreign elements in the motley population of Rome.

There were dangers also in the scheme. The party to which it has been conceded that they shall have a bishop-suffragan chosen from their ranks happen to have for their leading man the one eminent scholar and writer of the Roman Church. When Victor dies, who with all his faults seems to have been a good deal of a man, the newly dominant Latin party have not a really strong man to put in his place. But they have a man who represents their general feeling well enough, so they choose Zephyrinus, and he is made fourteenth bishop of Rome. Behold, then, our bishop of the foreigners busying himself with abundant writing on subjects widely diverse,—chronology (in which his blunders were fearful, but nobody in the Roman Church knew enough to correct him), history, interpretation of many portions of Holy Scripture,[1] and theology, but all the time in-

[1] A recently discovered portion of his *Commentary on Daniel* includes the interesting statement that our Lord's birth took place on Wednesday, December 25th, in the forty-second year of Au-

tolerably fretted by these two conditions,—that he was the leader of a party lately thrust from power, and that he must have for an official superior a man in every other view inferior to him. The scene being thus prepared, two occasions of quarrel arose, where certainly one would have been enough. The two parties contended about doctrine and about discipline, and in both cases the quarrel went to extremes.

1. The quarrel about doctrine concerned the subject of Monarchianism (p. 251). Hippolytus declares that both Zephyrinus and Callistus were Patripassians of the school of Noetus, and that it was Callistus himself who perverted the presbyter Sabellius to the acceptance of this heresy. Callistus, according to his bitter rival, was a stronger man than Zephyrinus, and having persuaded Zephyrinus to make him archdeacon of Rome, used his position to urge the bishop on to heretical utterances, which would stir up strife. Then both bishop and archdeacon would soothe the orthodox with fair professions of entire agreement. They would even put forth statements which ought to clear *anybody* from the charge of Patripassianism,—"I know that there is one God, Jesus Christ, nor except Him any other that is begotten and amenable to suffering," and on another occasion, "The Father did not die, but the Son." Hippolytus regarded these utterances as simply fraudulent. *He* knew what these people really be-

gustus. Perhaps Hippolytus was all wrong about it, but at least this find carries the tradition that the day was December 25th, back nearly two centuries from what had been for long its earliest known appearance.

lieved in their hearts, and he went right on exposing them.

But naturally the outcry was not all on one side. In his fury Hippolytus lets out the fact that Callistus called him and his following "ditheists," "worshippers of two Gods," retorting the charge of heresy with a vengeance. "And he (Callistus) hurried headlong into folly from the fact that all consented to his hypocrisy,—we did not, however,—and called us worshippers of two Gods, discharging with violence the venom that was in him." Plainly the majority of thoughtful Christians at Rome were satisfied of the orthodoxy of their bishop and archdeacon. "All consented" cannot mean less than that. The recognition of Praxeas, not even mentioned here, was probably a mistake in the case of a man who made no long stay at Rome. The excommunication of Sabellius by Callistus, when he became bishop, may charitably be supposed to be a perfectly honest act. There is no reason for believing the dreadful charge that when these men said orthodox things, they simply lied. It is a sad quarrel, but the probability is that Hippolytus was no ditheist, and his opponents no Sabellians. When men are using words to express new ideas, they need to take time and use care, before they can understand one another. Words have not quite an absolute meaning. That great word "*homo-ousios*" was once condemned as heretical, and very properly, because at that time it was used to carry a heretical idea. Almost any man can be proved to be a heretic, if you take his words and declare that they mean thus and so, and

disregard his indignant assurances that he never meant anything of the kind. And very especially if the parties to a theological controversy do not by preference use the same language as their vehicle of expression, but one Greek, we will say, and the other Latin, the opportunity for honest misunderstanding is increased. There was probably more bad blood than bad theology in this affair. It is notable, however, that neither party appealed to the rest of the Church. Can it be that neither party thought that it could really make out a case against the other before a disinterested tribunal? If half that Hippolytus says was true, he ought to have called all the great Churches to his help, and it is a shame to him that he did not. But whether his accusations be true or false, it remains that this scholar with a martyr's courage had also the manners of a fishwife.

2. Protestant writers are apt to swallow Hippolytus uncritically because he says horrible things about bishops of Rome. They are so horrible that it becomes absurd to suppose that Roman Christianity endured them. The quarrel about discipline will carry us into the very centre of the strife. We have seen (p. 298) how the Puritan party had viewed the subject of pardon for post-baptismal sin. The Church's mind was awakening to the thought that extremes of severe discipline were not good. At Rome the party of Zephyrinus, the majority of the Church, was in favor of relaxation. Of course, the party of Hippolytus took the other view and declared that relaxation meant laxity. To be fair to them, probably it did. Very likely it was a growing

carelessness of sin more than a deepening sense of the mercy of God that moved many to favor the new discipline. Very likely the change was so taken by careless souls as to make sin abound. Good deeds are sometimes proposed from mean motives, and occasionally a real forward movement in history has left most of the best and wisest men on what time showed to be the wrong side. Here again we have no means of hearing the other side of the story, but we have no ground for supposing that Zephyrinus and Callistus really rejoiced in spreading immorality, and from Hippolytus himself we can gather one point in their favor. He represents Zephyrinus as wholly under the influence of Callistus. Then the whole scheme of change may be credited to one brain. It is noteworthy, and it looks like practical wisdom, that restoration through long penitence was offered to only one class of offenders first, to those who had been guilty of adultery. This was in the episcopate of Zephyrinus. Then after some years' trial of the new discipline, a similar hope of restoration was opened to all penitents. Indeed, the real question at issue was one that might tax to the uttermost that wisdom which is first pure, then peaceable. It was the question how to deal with persons who had fallen into fearful sins and were now deeply penitent. The Puritan party insisted on treating it as a simple question between good and evil. They described the tenderer and wiser course as a mere encouragement to adultery and murder. They spoke of admitting "murderers" and "adulterers" to communion, instead of saying, "Persons

who were such years ago, but now are humble penitents." Plainly the Puritan representation was unfair.

But Hippolytus has worse than this. He says that Zephyrinus, "an uninformed and shamefully corrupt man," took bribes to allow Cleomenes, "an alien in life and habits from the Church," to go on teaching the heresy of Noetus undisturbed. Then, to be sure, he adds that Zephyrinus fell headlong into the same heresy, which throws doubt on the suggestion that what he did in its favor, whatever that may have been, was done for money. But a worse story is told of Callistus. He had been a slave of one Carpophorus, a rich Christian of Cæsar's household, and had by him been put in charge of a savings bank in which many Christians were induced to make deposits. The bank broke, as banks will at times, and the slave ran away, with his master in hot pursuit. Hippolytus says it was a case of embezzlement. It may be suggested, however, that when bank presidents were slaves, it was safer for them to run away, when the bank failed disastrously, even though they might be utterly guileless in the matter. Perhaps, indeed, an embezzler would have managed his running away more skilfully. At any rate, the slave was caught, we are told, brought back and put into the treadmill, the lowest depth of slave life. Presently clamorous depositors wanted him restored to his old position. They thought he had money concealed, says Hippolytus, and that he would pay it over to them! They thought, after their first flurry was over, that he was an honest and capable mana-

ger after all, says common sense. Then follows a curious turn. Callistus makes a disturbance in a Jewish Synagogue, is nearly killed by the infuriated congregation, and being tried before the City Prefect, is condemned to the Sardinian mines. Thick darkness covers this business. The explanation of Hippolytus, that Callistus wanted to commit suicide, is one that does not explain. There are easier and surer ways. After a time Marcia, the emperor's mistress, intercedes for the Christians suffering in the mines, and secures their release. Bishop Victor gives a list of such, but does not include Callistus. It may be true enough. Callistus was not exiled as a Christian, and his return might anger the Jews, and result in bringing down a fresh persecution upon the whole Christian community. The officer who had charge of the return knew so little about Christian affairs that on finding a Christian captive that was not on the bishop's list, he readily concluded that it was a case of oversight, and brought him with the rest. Did Victor denounce him as an escaped criminal, or excommunicate him as a detected scoundrel? No! Even Hippolytus does not claim that. He simply promised him *an allowance from the Church funds*, if he would live at Antium, thirty-four miles away. Surely the just inference is that Victor thought him a good Christian, but a dangerous one to have in Rome just then.

We turn a page,—it must be remembered that Hippolytus is our one authority for the alleged facts of this extraordinary narrative,—and we find

the next bishop, Zephyrinus, calling Callistus from his retirement, setting him over "the Cemetery,"[1] appointing him his "archdeacon," chief business man this, and administrator of Church funds, in the whole Christian community, and making him in every way his right hand man. The return from Sardinia must have had place as early as 193, for Commodus died in that year. It was probably a grace marking the tenth year of Commodus, 190. Zephyrinus comes to the bishop's chair in 198. He continues for eighteen or nineteen years, and at the close of that long period his archdeacon is chosen to be bishop in his place. Hippolytus asks us to believe that this man, so much trusted with administrative power, so long conspicuously known, was chosen bishop in spite of being quite notoriously a miserable embezzler, a wretched cheat, and a wilful corrupter of the Church's faith and morals. Says Dean Milman in his *Latin Christianity*, "This singular picture of Roman and Christian middle [he seems to mean 'middle class'] life, has an air of minute truthfulness, though possibly darkened by polemical hostility." Is it too venturesome to maintain, on the other hand, that this mass of scandal is a fable flimsy enough to fall by its own weight?

[1] The first Cemetery owned by the Roman Church, as distinguished from cemeteries owned by Christian families and opened to other Christians by private arrangement. It is still known as the Cemetery, or Catacomb, of St. Callistus,—the spelling *Calixtus* is a mere mediæval blunder,—and is noteworthy as being the burial-place of twelve or thirteen bishops of Rome between the years 225 and 315, and still more as the burial-place of the martyred St. Cecilia, whose noble family are supposed to have given the Church this great gift.

The Church of the Imperial City was not officered by a combination of thieves and scoundrels with imbeciles, in those early days when it was still a school of martyrs. Yet it did contain people that could lose their tempers pitifully, and believe, and say, dreadful things of their opponents, things which neither party would have been capable of doing.

Zephyrinus and Callistus, it has been said before, have left no record of their side of the story. A strange witness rises in their defence. It is no other than the marble chair in which Hippolytus sits with sealed lips, awaiting the verdict of posterity. Callistus died in 222. Thirteen years later a sudden blast of persecution swept away together Pontianus, his second successor, and Hippolytus, his old-time rival, to those same Sardinian mines where Callistus himself had dragged his chain forty-five years before. Within a year or two both bishop and coadjutor were dead. In 238 the bodies of both were brought to Rome and buried, in different cemeteries, on the same August day. The friends of Hippolytus set up this statue of him, and by common consent the *Philosophoumena* with its horrid scandals *was omitted from the list of his works.* Mute testimony, but powerful. Both parties were united in doing honor to a man who had done the Church great service, but on the basis of suppressing the accusations which he had scattered abroad in blind wrath.

One more noteworthy circumstance. Hippolytus charges Callistus and his "school" with receiving persons whom he himself had excommunicated, but

he never hints that Callistus had excommunicated *him*. Probably he had not. The Roman bishops went on their way in a truly Catholic temper, it would seem, once flinging out an accusation of heresy against the coadjutor, but not on second thoughts pressing it, and refusing to be responsible for the making of a sect. This alone will account for our hearing nothing in history of what was practically a schism in the Roman Church. As long as the bishop excommunicated nobody, he had no messages to send to foreign Churches, announcing acts of discipline. The coadjutor in charge of the foreign populations might rage and rave, and call his following "the Church," and describe the rest of the Church at Rome as a mere "Callistian School." The authorities took no notice of him, and treated both parties alike,—*Who art thou that judgest another man's servant?* was their motto according to Hippolytus himself,—and at last they had their reward. The quarrel died with the bitter old man who was the leader in it, and the judgment of the Church acknowledged the rival leaders as saints, Zephyrinus and Callistus for the general tenor of their lives, as the Church judged of them, and Hippolytus, partly for his gifts as a teacher, but mainly, we must believe, for the glory of his death conceived as a martyrdom.[1]

[1] That Hippolytus lived more than twenty years later than is here stated, that he joined the Puritan schism of Novatus, and afterwards repented, and that he was dragged to death by wild horses, like the Hippolytus of Greek tragedy, belongs to the domain of legend. It is maintained, however, by Bishop Wordsworth in his *Church History*, while it is antagonized by Bishop Lightfoot in his *Clement*, ii. 424.

It remains to say, that even if we reject the larger part of the evidence of Hippolytus as false witness, one fact stands out conspicuous and cannot be done away. The most learned theologian of the Roman Church in the early part of the third century charged two successive bishops of Rome with heresy. He did not think it a particularly wicked thing to separate himself from their communion. He had no idea that they were infallible teachers of the Church.

CHAPTER X.

EARLY THEOLOGIANS OF THE EAST: THE SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA; CLEMENT; ORIGEN.

LEXANDRIA, commercial metropolis of Egypt, and in population certainly the second city of the Roman Empire, was peculiarly a city of providence, curiously prepared to play a special part in the history of revelation and redemption. It was not an evolution, as most cities are, but a special creation, called into being by Alexander the Great, after his destruction of Tyre in 332 B. C., as a monument to himself. Egyptian in its location and its resources,—Egypt came to be the granary of Rome, the chief source of the food-supply of the capital in the early Christian centuries,—Alexandria was in the leading elements of its population a meeting-place of Greek and Jew. Those two nationalities furnished the chief colonists and capitalists of the new city, and we read that in the days of its chief prosperity, as about the beginning of the Christian era, two of its five wards were distinctively a Jewish quarter, and Jews were numerous in the other three. By this time the population numbered 300,000 free citizens, which would imply fully 600,000 inhabitants in all. A good half of the city's wealth and power may be supposed to have been in Jewish control, beneath the overruling authority of Rome.

To this singular mingling of Greek and Jew as powers so nearly equal that they could not by any possibility ignore one another, it must be added that the new city became a great centre of education, of culture, and of profound thought. In the division of Alexander's empire it came to pass that Egypt was ruled by lovers of learning. The early Ptolemies laid the foundations of a library that came to be one of the wonders of the world, and a university, under the name of the *Museum*, which attracted students from every side. Greek philosophy was always enquiring after the origin of this world and the causes of all things that now exist. Hebrew Scripture was continually offering an answer to those great questions of the hungry soul. In Alexandria, as in no other city of the ancient world, the Greek question and the Jewish answer were brought face to face, so that each must influence the other. Sons of rich Jewish families found their way into the university and learned to respect the philosophic methods and results of the Greek teachers. These in turn became interested in what they heard of the sacred books of the Hebrew people. Those books were translated into Greek by a series of scholars, beginning in the first half of the third century B. C. (say about 280), and closing within the next hundred years, the result being what is now called the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, commonly referred to as the LXX. A legend ascribing the origin of this version to an express command of King Ptolemy Philadelphus has probably at least a grain of truth. Lovers of learning in the schools of

Grecian philosophy were glad to take knowledge of the Mosaic account of the creation, and of what professed to be a revelation of one true God.

So at Alexandria the philosophy of the Greek and the revelation of the Jew met and mingled, and the result was that a great educational centre was measurably prepared for two chief Christian teachings, the Unity and the Trinity of the Divine Being. Even heathen philosophy had felt that somehow there must be one single Cause back of all causes, one great Answer to all the questions of the soul. The very first Cause of all causes, they would argue, must be not manifold, but One. The sturdy monotheism of an influential Jewish population was a great help in making that idea felt. But the influence was not all on one side. The heathen philosophy made its First Cause to be a Power, rather than a Person. Every thought of a man's mind, every feeling of his heart, has a cause. Then, said our philosophers, the First Cause lies back of all thought and all feeling, and It has no such movements within Itself. That was the doctrine of the "Divine Apathy," making out that the Cause of all things must be passionless, which is in plainer English, unfeeling. The Alexandrian Jew adopted this notion and began to be ashamed of everything in his sacred books that spoke of God as loving, hating, repenting, being angry, as hiding His face, as making bare His arm. Again the heathen teachers complained quite honestly that the Old Testament sanctioned cruelties and immoralities. To this last difficulty, the modern answer would say, "God was putting

our race to school. In every age He leads His people to things above themselves; but in every age He must be content to hold them to a moral level which some future age will leave far behind." In ancient days the answers were two. That of the Gnostic heretic declared the God of creation and of the Old Testament to be an evil power. That of the Alexandrine Jew declared that the books of the Old Testament do not mean what they seem to say. They are full of allegory. They must be taken as a sort of cipher-writing, in which great truths are hidden away, for the wise to discover, if they can. One more difficulty raised by the philosophers must here be named. Insisting that there could be but one First Cause of all things, they were led to ask how the Perfect Cause could produce evil as a result? Plato's answer had been to assume the eternal existence of matter, and Platonism, noblest of the Greek philosophies, was the chief favorite among the teachers of the Alexandrian University. The Alexandrian Jews were inclined to accept that idea. Even a Perfect Worker could not with such material turn out anything but an imperfect result. All that God had made, God had pronounced very good. But God did not make matter. He only made the best that He could of it, when He had it to deal with as an eternal condition of His creative work.

Philo, a rich Jew of Alexandria, commonly quoted as *Philo Judæus*, is our principal representative of the result of submitting Jewish belief to the influence of heathen culture. The most interesting thing about his writings is the fact that it was given

him to make a bridge over which heathen philosophy might pass to reach the Christian conception of the Trinity. Philo had learned to believe in the "Divine Apathy," to think of the First Cause as lying back of all thought and feeling and power. And yet thought and power must precede creation, and be used as instruments of creation. Plato had taught that the ideas of all created things were themselves independent realities. So Philo taught that sundry thoughts and potencies of God had a separate existence, and some of them he regarded as personal, identifying them with the angels or with the cherubim. But chiefest of all such forces was that which he called the *Logos*. This Greek word has the meaning of an "utterance," a "telling," and it has the double use that we ourselves give to such words as "tale" and "account." We speak of a "tale that is told," an "account of a transaction," or again of "the tale of brick," "an account current." *Logos* also may mean "narrative," or it may mean "reckoning." But much more, as we say that a man "speaks his mind," so the Greeks felt that a man's utterance of himself was a revelation of the mind that was in him, it was the mind shown forth, and so this great word for "utterance" came to have the two additional senses of "reason" (both of the reasoning mind and of the reason why) and of "plan." It was taken up by St. John to describe the office of the Son of God as the eternal utterance of the Divine mind, and it has become familiar to us in the rendering "Word." That is perhaps the best possible English for it, but *Logos*

never means so little as a single word. It is always a "statement." It is an utterance that tells something. Philo used it to express nothing less than the Mind of God declaring itself, all that God has to say. But then the Mind of God must be a Personal Mind, and it must belong also to God's Essential Being. If then we can at all distinguish between the Deity and the Mind by which He utters Himself, we have at once the beginning of a theory of Personal distinctions in the indivisible Divine Essence. Thus the Divine *Logos* was proclaimed in Alexandria before Jesus Christ was preached there, and proclaimed as being that Wisdom who says in the Proverbs (viii. 22, 23), "*The Lord possessed Me in the beginning of His way before His works of old. I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was.*"

The peculiar conditions of philosophical and religious thought which grew up at Alexandria did much to help the preaching of the Gospel, and much also to hinder it. In some ways they greatly favored Gnostic developments. But chiefly, and whether for good or evil, these Alexandrian speculations created an atmosphere in which Alexandrian Christianity had to learn to breathe. There, at any rate, the philosopher turned Christian must defend Christianity by philosophic methods, express Christian doctrine in philosophical terms, commend his religious attitude to his fellow-enquirers by propounding Revelation as the crown of Reason. There is an intellectual conscience, as well as a conscience about external behaviour, in the world. The Church

that would convert the world must learn to speak to that conscience. It was at Alexandria that the Catholic Church of the second century began to learn to perform that part of its Catholic duty on a great scale.

I. *The Catechetical School.* The origin of the Catechetical School of Alexandria is lost in obscurity. It is easy to see that in such a city the preparation of candidates for baptism would have had to be more careful and thorough on the intellectual side than in places where the population was not so much exercised in the discussion of questions philosophical and religious. The training which in other centres was comparatively informal and conducted by the clergy of the several congregations, came in Alexandria to be a thing systematic and precise, ministered by a professional teacher of the highest eminence. Hence, while the school was always known as "the Catechetical School," and the preparation of catechumens was probably always one of its chief aims, it must have been a great deal more. All that a "Church Hall" could be to-day in a university where most of the teaching staff were non-Christian thinkers, and all that a school of training for Holy Orders could be in the midst of a heathen population profoundly intellectual and thoroughly acute,—all that was this Catechetical School, with no stately buildings, no munificent endowments, where from morning to night a Christian philosopher sat in his poor lodging, and lectured, argued, expounded Scripture, systematized doctrine, for all sorts of enquirers, men and women, young and old,

Christian and heathen, the rich who brought payment, and the poor who brought none.

Philip of Side, a presbyter of Constantinople in the first half of the fifth century, says that the first teacher of this famous school was Athenagoras the Apologist. Philip knew but little about history, but he was a pupil of the school himself in the last years before it was transplanted from Alexandria and killed, and it seems more likely than not that the school's own tradition of the name of its first teacher was a true one. Athenagoras must have written his Apology very near the year 176. According to Eusebius it was about the time (A. D. 180) of the accession of Commodus that the Alexandrian school came into the hands of the first teacher of whom we can feel quite certain. This was the presbyter Pantænus, a native of Sicily,—"the Sicilian bee," his successor Clement called him, in admiration of his diligence in gathering treasures of knowledge,—and manifestly a man of versatility and power. He wrote many commentaries on Holy Scripture, all lost, but the most notable fact of his life is that about 190 he went on a missionary journey to India, in answer to a request from Christians of that country and by advice of his bishop Demetrius. A heathen writer, Dion Chrysostomus, writing about a century earlier, names Ethiopians, Arabians, Bactrians, Scythians, Persians, and *Indians*, as flocking to Alexandria in his time. That illustrates vividly the place of Alexandria in the world of thought. Still more striking as an illustration of the Alexandrine temper is the spectacle of that great Church

deliberately depriving itself of its chief teacher, the principal defender of its faith against the ponderous opposition of the great heathen university, to send him to maintain the Christian cause as against Brahman subtleties in the far East. The idea that for missionary work among a subtly intellectual people the Church must send the best she had, and not what she could best spare, is one of the finest traditions of the Church's first great school of theology.

II. *Clement.* Before Pantænus went on his journey, he had had for some time an ardent pupil, who seems probably to have become his *locum tenens* during his absence, his colleague after his return, and his successor at his death, another presbyter, who, whatever his origin, is always known as Clement of Alexandria.[1] He is called by some early writers an Athenian, and Athens was probably the place of his education at any rate, if not of his birth. He seems to have been a convert, not brought up to be a believer from the first, and his account of his successive teachers reminds one a little of Justin Martyr's quest of truth. But there is an important difference. Justin speaks in the tone of one who tried one philosophy after another, and left the last one behind to become a Christian. Though he still wore the philosopher's cloak, and taught in the philosophical manner, he yet regarded himself as one who had ex-

[1] His full name, *Titus Flavius Clemens*, exactly reproducing the name of the consul whom Domitian put to death (p. 31), implies some connection with that same distinguished Roman family, but it may well be that he was the son or grandson of a prosperous freedman of the noble house. There is no reason for connecting him any more nearly with the consul or with Clement of Rome.

changed even Platonism for Christianity. Clement, on the other hand, does not regard Christianity and the heathen philosophies as two mutually exclusive answers to the same questions, but rather as two adjoining fields, in each of which a wise man may find treasure. He does not become a Christian instead of a Platonist, but a Platonist who in his search for truth has found in Jesus Christ a Divine Revealer. Clement is sure that the spirit of philosophic enquiry is an impulse from God, and he cannot rest till he has a system of theology and a system of philosophy, and the two well fitted together.

To that end he studied in Greece and in Magna Græcia,—the portion of Southern Italy largely colonized by Greeks,[1]—in Palestine, and finally in Egypt, and after listening to five other examples of the "Apostolic Succession," to use a phrase of Eusebius for the line of teachers by whom the Christian tradition was handed down, he found in Pantænus precisely that union of religion and science which he was craving. An uneventful life was that of this scholar Clement. Whether he was young, or in middle life, or even elderly, when he came to Alexandria and found rest for his seeking soul, we cannot tell. We know only that he was for some years at the head of the school whose teachings had meant so much to him, that he fled from Alexandria in the persecution under Severus in 202, and that he is last heard of about ten years later, when he is bearer of

[1] This use of Magna Græcia is faintly comparable with the use of "Greater Britain" as a designation of the English-speaking countries of the world.

a letter to the Church at Antioch from Alexander, bishop of a Cappadocian see, an old pupil of his, who speaks of him warmly and of his services to the Church.

What then, were the services of Clement at Alexandria? They were in brief, to maintain as against the stupid party in the Church the honor of knowledge as a part of Christian achievement, and as against the Gnostics the claim that the true "Gnostic," the "man who knows," is he who begins with accepting the Catholic faith as revealed truth, and then goes on to bring all other knowledge into relation with it. "The stupid party" is not too strong a phrase for those whom Clement calls "Orthodoxasts," "Mere Scolds," and "People scared by a sound," a party who even in intellectual Alexandria observed that some students of philosophy were drawn to Christianity, while a greater number rejected it, and so came to the sapient conclusion that philosophy was a godless and dangerous study. They clamored for "the simple faith." They thought it dangerous to indulge in any opinions in the open field of free theology or philosophy. They regarded every attempt to restate the faith in terms of the prevailing philosophies as presumably heretical. They would not even discuss their own charges. They would only denounce the explorers who ventured to use new phrases and say over old truths in an unprecedented way.

But was Clement really orthodox after all? Certainly he always claimed to be. That phrase of Eusebius in which he uses "Apostolic Succession"

to mean the traditional descent of Christian doctrine from the Apostles through successive teachers of the Church might well have been Clement's own. His account of all his Christian teachers, as quoted by Eusebius (*History* v. 11), is this: "These men preserving the true tradition of the blessed doctrine directly from the holy Apostles, Peter and James and John and Paul, the son receiving it from the father (but few were like the fathers), have come even to us by the will of God, to deposit these ancestral and Apostolic seeds." Clement believed profoundly that his theology was a traditional theology, and not only that he did in fact agree with Christian teachers that went before him, but that he was bound to. "The Church's rule," "the rule of the truth," "the tradition of the Lord,"—such phrases are often on his tongue. He describes the true Gnostic as "maintaining Apostolic and ecclesiastical orthodoxy in doctrines." He speaks of heretics as "not having the key of entrance, but a false and (as the common phrase expresses it) a counterfeit key, by which they do not enter in, as we enter in, through the tradition of the Lord." He is as sure of the oneness of the Church and the Faith as Tertullian or Irenæus could be. "In substance and idea, in origin, in preëminence, we say that the ancient and Catholic Church is alone, collecting as it does into the unity of the one faith . . . those already ordained, whom God predestinated. . . . But the preëminence of the Church as the principle of union is in its oneness, in this surpassing all things else, and having nothing like or equal to itself" (*Stromata* vii. 16, 17).

Yet even where two men believe truly the same set of truths, each man's theology, his thought about God, will be colored by his experience, his sense of what God has done for him. To Clement, with his eagerly enquiring mind, God had been chiefly the great Illuminator, the great Teacher, who answers the soul's questions and shows how life may be made beautiful. He believed that Jesus Christ was a Saviour from sin, but he thought of Him much more as a Saviour from ignorance and folly. His favorite idea was that of the *Logos*, the utterance of the mind of God, communicating a little portion of truth to the heathen through philosophy, and now much more to the Christian man by Revelation. Hence the same philosophy which seemed to Tertullian an endeavor of evil spirits to draw men away from the truth of God, was to Clement God's loving endeavor to make Himself known to men as nearly as they were ready to receive Him. All the world was in Clement's view a school of God. In his four principal writings he undertook to set forth his view of what a full course in that school would contain. The first was his *Hortatory Address to the Greeks*, sometimes quoted as the *Protrepticus*. In it he is occupied in showing that heathen philosophy on its religious side has failed to discover any beautiful order of the world, or to present any noble scheme of human life. The next treatise is called the *Pædagogus*, or *Instructor*, *pædagogus* being the Greek name for a slave who took a boy to school, and was responsible for delivering him safely into the master's care. It was the word used by St. Paul (Gal. iii. 24) of

the office of the law in bringing men on their way to the school of Christ. "Schoolmaster," of course, is an impossible rendering. In this book Clement's thought is that our Lord as the *Logos* brings men to the point where they will receive His Christian Revelation, and so puts them to school to God in a higher way than they could have been without such leading. One book is occupied with an account of the methods of our Divine *Pædagogus*, and then two more with an account of the kind of life that He wishes to teach His people to lead. So far we have had, it has been excellently pointed out, a treatise in the line of Christian Evidences, and another in the line of Christian Ethics. Clement's third chief work is sometimes spoken of as adding a treatise on Christian Theology, but its name of *Stromateis*, or in the Latin form *Stromata*,—variously rendered as "patchwork," or as "clothes-bags," such as the Greeks kept bedding in,—whatever may have been its exact reference in Clement's mind, was certainly meant somehow to convey the idea of a miscellany. "This is not my whole theology," the title pleads, "nor even any portion taken out from a complete system of theological thought. It is a collection of ideas which I have found valuable." But here we note again that Clement's favorite ideas belong mostly to the theology of the knowledge of God's mind, rather than to that of salvation of sin. Two books of the *Stromateis* deal with the relation of Greek philosophy to Christianity; the third defends the true doctrine of marriage against the two forms of false Gnostic teaching, that which declared that

all bodily actions were indifferent, nothing that a man did with his body affected his soul at all, and that other which forbade marriage as a form of vice; the fourth and fifth books expound the doctrine of some of the Christian virtues; and the sixth and seventh are meant to show what sort of a man the ideal Christian, "the true Gnostic," will be, and that he alone can be a true worshipper of God.

These works of Clement have been preserved nearly entire. The fourth in his great series, the *Hypotyposes*, or *Outlines*, may have come nearer to containing a systematic statement of Clement's religious opinions, but only small portions of it remain. The only other writing of Clement that has come down to our day is a short essay, "*Who is the rich man that is in the way of Salvation?*" often quoted by its Latin title, *Quis dives salvetur?* It is a moderate pronouncement on the dangers of luxury and self-indulgence and the duties that belong to wealth.

Comparing Clement with the Jewish endeavor to harmonize religion and philosophy, we find him making a great advance upon Philo in two points. (1) He will not acknowledge the preëxistence of matter as eternal evil. (2) He does preach man's free-will. To ascribe the teaching of free-will to the Alexandrian school as if it was a sort of discovery of theirs, would be unfair. We must remember that Tertullian knew the idea so intimately and felt the value of it so profoundly, that he was driven to make a Latin phrase for it, and coined his *liberum arbitrium* to be a guide of Western thought for centuries. And to deny a conscious notion of free-will to St. Paul

would be absurd. But at Alexandria the idea was not in favor. It was a bravely independent philosophizing, against the habit of thoughtful men around him, which brought Clement to insist that the origin of evil lay in the free action of created wills. So again Clement follows Philo in a wildly allegorizing interpretation of Holy Scripture, but he still holds fast to the literal sense as having truth, and so value, of its own. "The sense of the law," he says (*Stromat.* ii. 28), "is to be taken in four ways,—either as exhibiting a symbol, or as laying down a precept for right conduct, or as uttering a prophecy." Here seem to be but three interpretations, and scholars have proposed to read "three" instead of "four." But no! Clement means exactly what he says. The Scripture has four kinds of meaning, because it always adds to the literal sense some one of these other three. As compared with Philo's, his allegorism is a sober return in the direction of reverence for God's actual word.

Yet Clement had his faults, and one was that he exalted knowledge overmuch. He read the words, *The truth shall make you free.* He saw that ideals are founded on ideas, and that right conduct must depend on knowing what is right. He quotes from a book known as the Gospel to the Hebrews a saying therein ascribed to our Lord, *He who wonders shall reign, and he who reigns shall rest* (*Stromat.* ii. 9). The idea is that the man who is not interested enough to wonder about the great problems of life, will not triumph over the difficulties of life. Surely that is true. The man who does not care,—he is

bound to be a failure. But how about the man to whom God has given very little power of thought? One may suspect that Clement would really have regarded a soul incapable of deep thought as also incapable of high character. He always, indeed, insisted on love in his "true Gnostic," as well as on knowledge and faith. But he does seem to feel as if the man of vision must be necessarily a man of virtue. It would be safer to say that he who loves well will attain to all needful knowledge, than to make the one common designation of the man who lives near to God in daily intercourse to be that of "the Gnostic," "the man whose knowledge is profound."

Another fault of Clement's theology was his adoption from the philosophers of the notion of "apathy" as the perfect state. He held that the Apostles after the descent of the Holy Ghost were in this condition, in which love and faith and fear continued as active principles, but had ceased to exist as feelings, and joy and grief were alike extinct. One can hardly imagine St. Paul in a state of apathy when he was writing his letters to the Corinthian Church, but it is quite possible to see how the teaching of apathy as an ideal might do much harm to men with but little of the Pauline spirit to begin with. It would easily lead to grievous self-deceiving, to coldest selfishness, to hardest self-satisfaction. Yet Clement's mistakes, we may well remember, were the necessary conditions of his being a Christian at all. His type of mind and the conditions of his training made it necessary for him to think his

Christian thoughts in such a framework of philosophical speculation. With such a start as he had had in the way of intellectual convictions, he simply could not see things in any other way. And many other men in those days were in the same condition. An Irenæus or a Tertullian might have been unable to win them to see that Christianity was true. Clement taught the same faith and the same traditions, but he showed how they could be harmonized with what we may call the Alexandrine forms of thought.

III. *Origen.* When Clement left Alexandria in fear of persecution, no man of prominence dared to take up his work. His most zealous and gifted pupil was a youth not yet eighteen years old, *Origenes Adamantius*, known to us as *Origen.* He offered to carry on the school for a time. It was not long before the bishop was glad to appoint him formally to be its head. For, indeed, this stripling soon began to show himself a giant. None could take the full measure of the man till his long life was over. The student of to-day looks back and sees in him the one great, commanding figure, incomparable among theological teachers as a power whether for good or for evil, between St. Paul, nearly two centuries earlier, and St. Augustine of Hippo, nearly two centuries later. His only rival is that other great Alexandrian, Athanasius, and even Athanasius did not affect Christianity so profoundly as did he. The later Church admired its martyr Cyprian much more generally, and was much more in sympathy with its scholar Jerome, but that very Church owed most to Origen, whose name was stricken from her honor-

roll and became a by-word and a reproach. To explain such a paradox we need to pass in review his character, his opinions, and his life.

1. Origen's character may almost be summed up in a single phrase. He was a man of intense devotion. He had been brought up to it from childhood. His father, Leonides, was a Christian, and one of those who see things invisible. So deep was this father's sense of the Divine Indwelling that he used sometimes to go to the boy's bedside, as he slept, and uncover his breast and kiss it reverently as a shrine of the Holy Spirit of God. He would have his boy learn all that belonged to the highest education of the day, including Christian teaching, of course, and when the child began to ask questions too deep for his teachers to answer, the father warned him against the dangers of an unreverent haste to search into mysteries, but inwardly gave thanks for such a son. In the persecution of the year 202, Leonides fell a victim cheerfully, and his son, like-minded, wrote to him in his prison to beg him not to be weakened by thoughts of those at home. Nay, the young man longed for a martyr's death, and would once have gone to seek it, but that his mother hid his clothes to make it impossible. Thwarted in that direction, he took up the work of teaching the Catechetical School, hoping to come thus to his crown. The authorities shifted the school from lodging to lodging for safety, but the young teacher exposed himself with reckless courage, visiting the martyrs in prison, attending them when they went to death, and once, we are told, preaching Christ

from the steps of the Temple of Serapis, the very centre and citadel of Alexandrian heathenism, to an angry mob. A mysterious providence delivered him again and again, and he saw himself called to serve by life rather than by death.

His intensity could bear the harder test of living. The family property had been confiscated. Origen became for a time the *protegé* of a wealthy woman who dangled between the Catholic Church and one of the Gnostic sects. Nothing would induce Origen to attend services or preachings of a Gnostic teacher whom she was also supporting. Indeed, such a dependence could not continue long, and we presently find the young scholar parting with the library which he had gathered when he was a rich man's son,—we must remember that "library" in those days meant rolls laboriously copied by hand, and therefore costly beyond our common thought,—for an annuity which was to yield four *oboli* (say fourteen cents) a day. It was the barest pittance, less than a laborer's wage, but Origen asked no more. For years he lived on that allowance and refused the gifts that friends longed to bestow on him. He wore no shoes, and but a single garment, for had not the Apostles been sent out so (St. Matt. x. 10)? His food and sleep were limited by strict, ascetic rules. Nay, the spirit of utter obedience to every word that might fall from the Divine Master went so far with him that having pondered deeply the Lord's words, *There be eunuchs which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake*, he re-

ceived that hard saying as touching himself, and made it literally true.

This great soul was intense in toil also. A century after his death, it was reported of him that he had written 6,000 books. Jerome thought 2,000 more likely. The number need not concern us. Plainly the impression made upon contemporaries was an impression of enormous labor and enormous productive power. There were few books of Holy Scripture which this indefatigable scholar did not cover with "commentaries," or with "homilies,"—simple expository sermons, explaining a book verse by verse,—and he treated some books of Scripture in both ways. Again Origen found himself hindered in controversy by ignorance of the language of the Old Testament. "It does not read so in the Hebrew," men would say to him. Then he undertook the study of Hebrew himself, and in a few months he was able to read the Old Testament in the original, enough at least to be able to compare it intelligently with the versions which he found in use.[1] The study of Hebrew was as rare then among Christian scholars, as that of Assyrian is now. With Origen it was but the first step toward another, and a huge undertaking. He determined to give the Church an edition of the Old Testament which

[1] St. Jerome, writing a letter of condolence to a friend on her daughter's death, compares the deceased lady to Origen because she learned Hebrew in so short a time. He adds that she vied with her mother in singing the Psalms in Hebrew. The writer of the article *Origenes* in the Dictionary of Christian Biography refers to this letter as proving that Origen and *his* mother sang Hebrew Psalms, and hints that the mother may have been a Jewess! It is a small oversight of a great man.

should contain in six parallel columns, first the Hebrew Text, then the same syllables written in Greek characters, then in the remaining four columns the Greek Versions of Symmachus, Aquila, the LXX., and Theodotion. This six-column work was known as the *Hexapla*.[1] It was the first large attempt to distinguish between what did truly represent the Word of God, and what did not, and it was a labor of years, labor the most toilsome. It belongs to the same subject that after Celsus, a heathen philosopher, the Voltaire of the second century, had assailed the Christian religion with one of the keenest, as well as bitterest, criticisms it ever suffered, it was the busy Origen, the most overworked scholar of his day, who furnished in his eight books *Contra Celsum* the answer by which the Church was willing to be judged.

Origen appears, then, as a man of high ambitions and of great accomplishment. All this he might have been, and withal a man of small and mean nature, gaining force, like a mountain stream, by concentrating all his energies into one narrow channel. It remains to say that Origen was the reverse of all that. He was intense, but he was broad and generous. One sees it in his friendships. The narrow man, who makes his soul as a wedge, is apt to cleave his way through obstacles, but he does not bind

[1] Another edition, in four columns, with the four Greek Versions only, had the name of the *Tetrapla*, and the *Hexapla* itself had additional columns for some books, containing a fifth, a sixth, and in the case of the Psalms even a seventh, version. Where the columns numbered eight, the edition was sometimes referred to as the *Octapla*.

hearts. He accomplishes results, but he does not make friends. Origen won people wherever he went. He got a reputation as a man who could understand other men, and as one to whom it was worth while to carry the questions of the soul. The governor of Arabia sends for him to give him spiritual help. Twice in his later life he is called to that same province to quiet troubled souls in times of controversy, and not only that, but by his kindly fashion of entering into other men's minds he actually succeeds in bringing the adopters of some curious new notions back into the unity of the Church. The emperor Philip the Arabian had some correspondence with him, and years earlier, Julia Mamæa, aunt of Elagabalus, the reigning, and mother of Alexander Severus, the coming, emperor, had sent a guard of honor to bring this famous teacher to an interview with her at Antioch. Ambrose, a wealthy citizen of Alexandria, is converted from a Gnostic heresy by him, and becomes his lifelong friend, devoting his riches largely to the service of this benefactor of his soul, and as his friend will take nothing for himself, covering all the expense of providing amanuenses for him to take his dictations, and professional copyists to write out fair the finished work, that *Hexapla* and *Tetrapla* and commentaries may be given to the world. Never was there a leader of thought who had a more devoted personal following than Origen. His effect upon his pupils is described by one of the greatest of them, Gregory, who afterward as bishop of Neo-Cæsarea in Pontus was to win the title of *Thaumaturgus*,

"Wonder-worker." Gregory was on his way to Berytus to study law, when by a good providence he visited the Palestinian Cæsarea, and heard Origen lecturing there. "It was as if a spark fell into my soul, and caught fire, and blazed up," he says, "such was my love for the Holy Word, and for this man, its friend and advocate. Stung by this desire, I forgot all that seemed to touch me most nearly,—my studies, even my beloved jurisprudence, my country, my relatives, my present mission, even the object of my travels." At Origen's magic touch the whole world appeared to him in a new light, and the man who had wrought this miracle upon him Gregory must love and reverence all his days. That is but one example of what Origen was as an inspirer. There cannot be a perfect love, it is true, without a right faith to guide the eyes of the heart. But faith itself exists for the sake of love, and only for the sake of love. Origen had that kind of devotion in him that can lead men not only to faith, the means, but even to love, the end.

2. To give a summary of the opinions of so voluminous a writer as Origen would be too much like undertaking an analysis of an encyclopedia, but as it was his fate not only to set men thinking more actively than any other teacher had done for generations, but also to divide them profoundly and draw down lightnings of condemnation from a great many more or less "celestial minds," it is necessary to go somewhat into the matter of his beliefs.

First, then, he was just as much a "Catholic," bound in his conscience to a "Catholic Church"

and a "Catholic Faith," as Irenæus and Tertullian in the West. The modern Protestant position of submitting all points in religion to the decision of private judgment, assisted by such portions of Holy Scripture as may commend themselves to the same judgment as probably given by inspiration,—that position would have seemed to Origen simply shocking. In the preface to his book on *First Principles* (*De Principiis*) he lays it down that "seeing there are many who think they hold the opinion of Christ, and yet some of these think differently from their predecessors, yet as the teaching of the Church, transmitted in orderly succession from the Apostles, and remaining in the Churches to the present day, is still preserved, that alone is to be accepted as truth which differs in no respect from ecclesiastical and Apostolic tradition." He goes on to give a long paraphrase of the Creed, to show what points are included in this binding tradition. He mentions also from time to time subjects which are not included in this body of revealed truths, and which are open to the Christian student to speculate upon as he may. But even in pointing out the open fields of the Church's free theology, he makes it plain that he holds as steadfastly as any other traditionalist to the existence of a central ground of faith, fenced round by boundaries which it is a matter of conscience to keep unmoved.

So in his sacramental and sacerdotal ideas Origen was entirely in harmony with the general mind of the Church. Original sin finds its remedy in the offer of baptismal regeneration. The Church, he

says, baptizes infants, according to the tradition received from the Apostles. "If there were nothing in little children to call for remission and indulgence, the grace of baptism would seem superfluous" (*Com. on Romans* v. 9, *on Leviticus* viii. 3). As to the Eucharist, Origen feels deeply that *the flesh profiteth nothing*, even though it be the flesh of our Lord, unless the Word and Spirit operate savingly upon the soul, and so he says sometimes that the real Body and Blood of the Sacrament are the Word that nourishes, and the Word that makes glad the heart (*Com. Ser. on St. Matt.* 85). Yet he certainly holds the common belief of the Church, that the consecrated elements become a Power in themselves. We eat "bread which by prayer is made a Body most holy and sanctifying those who with right purpose use it" (*Contra Celsum* viii. 33). Nay, he that receiveth unworthily, "*eateth and drinketh damnation to himself*, one and the same excellent Power in the Bread and in the Cup inworking good in a good disposition which receives it, and implanting judgment in the evil. So the sop from Jesus was of like nature with that which was given to the rest of the Apostles with the words, *Take, eat*, but to the one for salvation, to Judas for judgment, since after the sop Satan entered into him. Let the Bread and the Cup be considered by the more simple according to the more common interpretation of the Eucharist, by those who have learned to hear deeper meanings, according to the more divine promise also, concerning the nourishing Word of Truth" (*Com. on St. John* xxxii. 16). It is to be observed that Origen's deeper

meaning does not contradict at all "the more common interpretation." The common mind was content to know that it was receiving the Lord's Body. Origen longs to study the nature of that mysterious spiritual gain to which even this supernatural Communion is but a step. But that he does not use sacramental language merely figuratively is plain from his ascribing the reception of the Lord's Body to unworthy communicants as well as to the devout, and from such a passage as this: "Aforetime, in similitude, was a baptism in the cloud and in the sea; now, in reality, is Regeneration in water and the Holy Ghost. Then, in similitude, was manna food; now, in reality, is the Flesh of the Word of God true food, as He Himself also saith, *My Flesh is meat indeed, and My Blood is drink indeed*" (*Hom. on Numbers* vii. 2). To Origen's mind the Eucharistic Elements were in some quite literal sense the Body and Blood of Christ, but every material fact in the world, even the Body of the Lord Himself, was also a symbol of some spiritual idea. In like manner Origen treats our Lord's return to judgment as if it were a pure allegory of His revelation of Himself to souls, yet he also says that he does not refuse to believe in "the Second Visitation of the Son of God as more simply understood" (*On St. Matt.* xii. 30).

In regard to Holy Scripture Origen believed implicitly in an inspiration which made every word and syllable precious. It is part of the necessary tradition, he tells us in the preface to the *De Principiis*, "that the Scriptures were written by the Spirit of God, and have a meaning not only such as is appar-

ent at first sight, but also another which escapes the notice of most." He held that there were three meanings, the literal, the moral, and the spiritual, the moral teaching human duty, and the spiritual the mysteries of redemption. The three corresponded to the body, soul, and spirit in man. But there were cases, Origen thought, where the literal meaning was not meant to be received at all. Satan conveying our Lord to a pinnacle of the Temple, or showing Him all the kingdoms of the world from a single mountain top, was an example of natural impossibility. The extermination of hostile peoples by the Jews, the law of visiting the fathers' sins upon the children, the curses of the imprecatory Psalms,—these were examples of moral impossibility. The literal meaning was to be disregarded save as a help to finding the higher meanings. The danger of such a method is obvious. It encouraged men to explain away God's utterance instead of submitting to it. On the other hand, Origen did much to keep the Old Testament in use, when it was in danger, as it is to-day, of popular rejection. If his rejection of the letter was an unfortunate mistake, his claim that men could discover a higher meaning taught them to find a golden glow of spiritual suggestion in every portion of the Word.

In dealing with the Old Testament Origen made one strange slip. He read it in the LXX. Greek, and found there considerable additions to the books of Daniel and Esther, and whole books besides,—Tobit, Ecclesiasticus, Maccabees,—which were not in any Hebrew Bible. Unhappily, Origen got it into his

head that this was a case of the "Bible of the Jews" against the "Bible of the Church." God could not have allowed the Church to adopt a version of the Scriptures containing a large portion of apocryphal, uninspired additions. An older scholar, Julius Africanus, pointed out to him that the Story of Susannah, in the Greek Daniel, was improbable in itself, and contained plays upon words which must have been written in the Greek tongue, and could not possibly have had any Hebrew original. Where Origen insisted that God could not let the Church make a mistake as to what belonged in its Bible, Julius held that God had seen the Church falling into such a blunder, and was now sending through scholarship the means of correcting it. But Origen could not see, and his view, so unworthy of him, was for once a really popular one, men were so carried away by that question-begging watchword, "the Bible of the Church."

As regards the Being of God, Origen held devoutly the Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity, but his profound and active mind brought out with new clearness what that doctrine really contained. The Church owes to him the phrase "eternal generation," which safeguards our doctrine in two opposite directions. As against the Sabellian idea that "Son" is but a name for an occasional manifestation of the Father, like the flame that leaps up from the fire and presently sinks back, this phrase, "eternal generation," declares that the Son is always Son. His distinction is a permanent distinction in the Godhead. On the other hand, as against the danger of dividing

the Substance and making in effect three Gods rather than three Divine Persons in one Godhead, this same careful phrase holds up the thought that the Father never gives Deity to Son or Spirit in such wise as to give it away. The personal distinctions exist from eternity, but they are the gift of the Father by an eternal act of giving.[1] Hence Origen was content to take our Lord's words, *The Father is greater than I* (St. John xiv. 28), as referring to His Divine Nature. So the greatest of the Church's theologians have generally taken it,—as for example Athanasius and Basil in the East and Augustine in the West,—but fear of seeming to make our Lord less than perfect in His Divinity has made the majority of commentators to take a feeble refuge in the explanation that our Lord was speaking as Man. They have been afraid to acknowledge anything that could be called "subordination" in the relations of the Divine Persons.

Origen has also the honor of being the first to call our Lord "the God-Man," a most useful and telling phrase in which to sum up the doctrine of His single Personality and His two Natures, indissolubly, yet inconfusedly conjoined. Yet again, as by his "subordinationism," he laid himself open to attack from critics not generous enough to take the trouble to be fair, by asserting that while prayer might fitly be addressed to our Lord Jesus Christ, yet prayer in the

[1] In the same spirit Origen coined another phrase, which was to become famous in the Arian controversy. "There was not when He was not," he said of the Divine Son. He was not satisfied to say, "There was no *time* when He was not." The eternity of God surpasses the bounds of time.

very highest form could be offered only through Christ to the Father. It was the glory of the Son that He could *do nothing of Himself* (St. John v. 19), that His Will was the loving copy of His Father's Will. To assert that that prayer soars highest which addresses itself in form to the Will which is eternally the model of all good will, rather than to the Will which eternally agrees therewith, is a highly metaphysical distinction, but it has its value, being a true distinction. In fact, the Church's highest offering of devotion is the Holy Eucharist, and that is essentially an offering to the Father through the Son.

But while critics sometimes faulted Origen's doctrine of God, the great cause of Christian animosity against him was found in his doctrine of man. In the controversy about the forgiveness of post-baptismal sin he began with severe views, but in later life he came to the opinion that any sin might have forgiveness in this life, save only the sin of stubborn impenitence. His mature conviction was one of his departures from the prevailing theology of the generation before him, but the general mind of the Church changed in the same direction, and his reputation did not greatly suffer. The same turn of mind, however, which led Origen to insist that God must be ready to forgive at any time any sin except final impenitence, led him to two other teachings which the Church generally was inclined to resent. A chivalrous soul himself, he longed to make men feel that Almighty God was not what in a man would be called mean. Of course, such an endeavor has its dangers too. We cannot measure the justice

of God's providences without knowing all the facts, and to get all the facts before us, while we are in this life, at any rate, is obviously impossible. But men find it hard not to judge of what they cannot see, by what they see, and two things in the present appearances of human life pressed heavily on Origen's warm heart. Men did not seem to have equal chances of salvation in this life, and in the other life, according to the commonly received opinion, infinite punishment was to be the penalty of finite sin. An appearance of unfairness seemed to hang over man's origin and over his end. The bold thinker found an answer for both difficulties. He became convinced that human souls must have had a former existence, in which they all started fair, every one perfect in its measure, and all equal in their opportunities. Some fell from grace, and life in this world's various conditions is the just punishment of such souls, varying according to the depth of their fall. The Greek word for "soul" is connected with the word which stands for "breathing," and so for "cooling." Origen seized on this derivation as a support for his view. A soul was a thing cooled off, a spiritual power which had lost the fire of its first love.[1] But having made of this world a sort of disciplinary hell, into which no soul but the Saviour's ever entered but for its sins, Origen looked forward also to that other hell, of which our Lord warned men so solemnly, and suggested that that must be a further place of punishment and probation for souls that the disci-

[1] It should be said for him, in passing, that he did not ascribe such an origin to the human soul of our Lord.

pline of this world could not correct. He seems to have wavered in his optimism, sometimes suggesting that God must ultimately succeed in saving every spiritual force to goodness, at other times declaring quite positively that the case of Satan and his evil spirits is hopeless. But at least he inclined strongly to the idea that all punishment was in the divine purpose corrective and remedial, that the great saying, *I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me*, was simply and literally true, and that the time would come when God's Kingdom would no longer be divided by the presence of evil will.

3. The career of a great scholar is apt to be uneventful, unless he is charged with heresy. Origen began his work as a boy of eighteen under a storm of persecution, in an atmosphere of martyrdoms of pupils and near friends and of narrow escapes for himself, but the storm blew over, and until he reaches the age of thirty-one, we may think of him as leading a life of quiet usefulness. He is not yet a writer. He is settling his own mind and forming the views which he is to give to the world by and by. We find him attending the school of a heathen teacher of philosophy, Ammonius Saccas, to the scandal of some of the brethren, but his defence seems reasonable. He needs to know what men are saying whom in his own school he is constantly called upon to answer. Other Christian teachers, he says, have done so before. In the same spirit of desire to know what men are thinking, he takes a holiday visit to the most ancient Church of the Romans, where he meets the bishop Zephyrinus and that

hard-tempered scholar, Hippolytus, but if his visit enriched or cleared his mind particularly, we have no trace of it. In the year 216 there was a change. Alexandrian wit had launched poisoned shafts at the emperor Caracalla, who had murdered his own brother to secure his throne and bought with heavy bribe the support of the Prætorian Guards. The emperor met the sarcasm of the university wits with a horrible massacre, long remembered as the "frenzy of Caracalla," in which all noted scholars were marked out to be chief victims. There was no principle that required Origen to meet death in such a cause, and his friends persuaded him to seek refuge in some foreign city. It was a turning-point of his life, when he chose the Palestinian Cæsarea.

Of the Christian history of Palestine in the preceding century little is known. Fifteen bishops, beginning with James the Lord's brother, had held the see of Jerusalem before the destruction under Hadrian. Fifteen more had ministered to an exclusively Gentile population in the new city of Ælia Capitolina. A succession so rapid gave little opportunity for most of the bishops to make a mark in the history of the see, and it would seem to have been for long a post of danger and of shortened life. The fifteenth bishop of the Gentile line, Narcissus, is an exception. Born before the death of St. John the Evangelist, he was one hundred and sixteen years old when a certain letter was written by his coadjutor Alexander between 212 and 216, and he had passed away before Origen came in the latter year to Palestine. By his great age he is made a

valuable witness to the continuity of Christian thought in Palestine. A Gentile Christian himself, he had still come to mature years before the extinction of the original Church of Jerusalem. It is clear that a very small interval separated him from the teachings of the last of the original Apostles, and if we may assure ourselves that his early traditions were sound ones, there can be no doubt that in his turn he taught them with power.

For a man of power he plainly was. The name of Narcissus is one of those around which marvels spring and grow. In the days of Eusebius men told many stories of miracles that he had done. Thus they said that once when the Church was keeping vigil on the night before Easter, the neglected lamps began to go out for want of oil, and oil was lacking in the sacristan's stores. Narcissus bade the attendants fill the lamps with water, and they burned all night without fail. Some of the oil thus made by miracle was shown to Eusebius, but that cautious historian will not go beyond "They tell the story." Another "story," which he repeats in the same way, tells how an atrocious calumny was concocted to blast the bishop's reputation. Three men swore to the slander, and invoked various horrors upon themselves, if it was not true. Believers implored the bishop to pay no heed to the charge, but he laid down his pastoral staff, and disappeared. He had long lived an ascetic life, and now he went into the wilderness and lived as a solitary. Another bishop was consecrated in his place, and after him another, and again another. Meanwhile the first of the ac-

cusers had lost his life in a burning house, the second had been smitten with a foul disease, and the third broke down and confessed the horrible conspiracy, bitterly repenting and weeping till he brought blindness upon himself, and all the imprecations of the false swearers were fulfilled. Then, the story says, Narcissus came back to Jerusalem, like one risen from the dead, and resumed his episcopal throne. Outliving Gordius, the last of the three bishops who had been successively appointed in his place, he found himself too feeble to administer his diocese alone, and so he asked for a coadjutor.[1] It was shown to some of the chief men of the Church in vision that on a certain morning they should find him whom God had sent to be their bishop entering at the city gate. They went thither and welcomed Alexander, a Cappadocian bishop, come on pilgrimage to the holy places.

Here arose a double difficulty. It was contrary to the usual order of the Church to have two bishops in one city, or to translate a bishop from the see for which he was consecrated to another. Thus far the Churches had been governed much more by recognized principles hardening into usage than by any written law. But both these things were felt to be contrary to the Church's mind, and both were in later times forbidden by stringent regulations. But under the commanding influence of Narcissus both

[1] This is the first example of coadjutorship that we find in early records, from the time that the Church adopted the method of assigning a particular district to a particular bishop as its head. The case of Hippolytus at Rome is probably a still earlier example of the same thing, but we have no record of it as such.

were done, and Alexander, "with the unanimous consent of the bishops of the neighboring Churches," became coadjutor bishop of Jerusalem. It would appear, then, that in 216 the Churches of Palestine were held specially close to a conservative tradition about the essentials of the faith by the teaching of such a remarkable witness as Narcissus, just now passed away, and that in practical matters, on the other hand, they were singularly given to broad views. A precedent had no terrors for them, if the reason for it did not happen to exist in a particular case. They were ready to give the Church what it needed, even if it needed something new.

To such a region came Origen. Alexander of Jerusalem had been a pupil of Pantænus and Clement, and had known Origen, and loved him, in his enthusiastic boyhood. He delighted in him now in his maturity, and gave him warm commendation to Theoctistus, bishop of Cæsarea. Both bishops urged upon Origen that he ought to use his gifts as a preacher, though he was but a layman still, and the modest scholar could not resist so weighty a pressure from the authorities of the Church. Three years were spent here in much preaching and teaching, interrupted probably in 218 by the visit to Julia Mamæa (p. 339). In the meantime trouble was preparing at Alexandria. It was a thing unheard of there that a layman should expound the Scriptures in time of service in presence of his bishop. Demetrius was scandalized, and wrote to complain. He had been bishop of Alexandria for nearly thirty years, since Origen was four, and to the old bishop

the young lay-preacher must have seemed a presumptuous boy. The bishops of Cæsarea and Jerusalem defended themselves vigorously. The thing was not without examples. They could quote several from Asia Minor. They had no doubt, there were many more. Demetrius was inexorable. Origen was an official of the Alexandrian Church, and his bishop formally demanded his returning, even sending some of his deacons to give dignity to the requisition. It was obeyed, and from 219 to 231 Origen was once more the head of the Alexandrian School.

His life in Alexandria at this period was in two ways different from what it had been before. First, he seems to have begun to be a writer, as one of the chief businesses of his life. Ambrose, the rich convert, persuaded his friend that he owed the Church this kind of work, and put at his disposal the costly means of doing it on a great scale. Secondly, he began to be made unhappy by bitter criticism. He had a sensitive soul, and in the preface to book vi. of his Commentary on St. John he compares his final departure from Egypt to Israel's Exodus. In 231 the trouble came to a head. The province of Achaia was disturbed by heresies, and it was Origen who was called in to quiet the strife. Demetrius had quite confidence enough in him to send him on such an errand, and with no fear, apparently, of his adding heresy to heresy, gave him the usual letters commendatory, which a Christian was expected to be able to show when he was away from home. Ori-

gen departed by way of Palestine, and took that fatal Cæsarea in his way. Theoctistus and Alexander both met him there, and persuaded him with urgent entreaty to allow himself to be ordained as a presbyter of the Church. Technically it was against the Church's common order that a self-mutilated man should be admitted to the ministry. Technically it was against the common order that a man of one "parish" should be ordained by the bishop of another. The two bishops were so sure that this was an occasion for overriding technicalities, that they did an unprecedented thing. They ordained this exceptional candidate by their joint act, uniting in the laying on of hands as at the making of a bishop, to show how entirely ready both felt to bear the responsibility for this decision before the Church at large.

The new presbyter went on his way to Achaia. The report of his ordination was carried back to Alexandria, and at once there was a storm. Demetrius and other leading men had probably regarded Origen's views as not technically heretical, while yet considering some of them to be false and somewhat dangerous, and in a high degree offensive. They were in no mood to allow technicalities of order to be set aside for the exaltation of such a teacher. A council of bishops and a few presbyters was brought together, and it was decreed that Origen was to be banished from Alexandria, and never more to dwell or teach there. Nor was this enough to satisfy the venerable Demetrius in his sense of outrage. He as-

sembled the bishops, his colleagues,[1] by themselves, and secured from them a vote professing to depose the offender from his priesthood. "Demetrius was so wildly enraged at him,"—these are the words of such a pillar of orthodoxy as Jerome (*De Viris Illustribus* liv.),—"that he wrote everywhere to injure his reputation." "What reward have his exertions brought him?" says the same eloquent advocate (*Letter* xxxiii.). "He stands condemned by his bishop Demetrius, only the bishops of Palestine, Arabia, Phœnicia, and Achaia dissenting. Imperial Rome consents to his condemnation, and even convenes a senate to censure him, not—as the rabid hounds who now pursue him cry—because of the novelty or heterodoxy of his doctrines, but because men could not tolerate the incomparable eloquence and knowledge which, when once he opened his lips, made others seem dumb."

Jerome changed his mind in after life, and censured some of Origen's theology very severely. It is manifest, however, that when he wrote these words he did not regard it as a point decided by the Church that any opinion of Origen's was a heresy. Either the Alexandrian and Roman assemblies had left the question of heresy entirely out of their official pronouncements, which seems probable, or else Jerome, himself a hammer of heretics, saw reason to regard their judgment about heresy as worthless.

[1] The presence of bishops in Alexandria at this time, when according to one authority there were no bishops in Egypt outside of Alexandria, may lend force to the suggestion put forth on p. 72, that the famous "twelve presbyters" of Alexandria were really bishops.

It has sometimes been claimed by modern writers, as by Doctor Pusey, (*What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?*), that Origen's bold questioning whether the "everlasting punishment" of Holy Scripture necessarily implies endless and hopeless pain, was condemned by the Fifth General Council (Constantinople II., A. D. 553). The anathemas in which that doctrine is mentioned are the work of the "Home Synod," a local body of no particular importance, about twelve years before. Whether Origen was in any way condemned by the Fifth General Council is an open question, with much to be said on either side. Canon XI. of the Council, as we now read it, anathematizes Origen in a list of former heretics (where his name is thrust in *not in its chronological order*, suggesting the work of an interpolator), and mentions no opinion for which he is condemned. The utmost that can be made out is that perhaps the bishops in that gathering thought that *something* which they supposed Origen to have taught was heretical. The real, living Origen was condemned for offences against ecclesiastical order, and *possibly* for some of his opinions, by the Churches of Alexandria and Rome, and supported on every ground by all the more eastern Churches, from Arabia round to Greece. Indeed, he had supporters at Alexandria itself, retaining the love and confidence of both Heraclas and Dionysius, the next two bishops of that see, both of them former pupils of his, and both successors to him in the headship of the school. If Origen was a heretic, he was a heretic with the best part of the Church at his back.

Alexandria thus closed against him,[1] in spite of his strong supporters there, Origen returned to Cæsarea, and made that city his chief centre for the rest of his life. He set up a school like that of Alexandria, and pupils flocked to it. There is a story, likely enough to be true, that in the persecution under Maximin, 235-238, he went into hiding in the Cappadocian Cæsarea, whose great bishop, Firmilian, was an old pupil and warm admirer. Otherwise his life seems to have flowed very quietly on for twenty years. It is noted, curiously enough, that it was only in 245, when he had reached the age of sixty, that this idolized great man on whose words men hung, gained courage enough about his unwritten sermons to give his consent that stenographers should report them. Marvellous is the modesty of greatness! It may be noted that the eight books *Against Celsus*, who had written ably against Christianity some seventy-five years before, seem to have been one of the last works of Origen's life.

The end drew on. The years 250-251 brought a general persecution. While Origen had work to do, he had been wonderfully preserved from such dangers. Now he was to feel the discipline of pain in the torture of the iron chair and of the rack stretched to its utmost limit. By the grace of God he lived true to his name of *Adamantius*, "the Indomitable," but when the persecution passed, he came from his

[1] If the student reads anywhere the common statement that Origen went to Achaia as early as 228, and returned to Alexandria before the decree of exile was pronounced against him, he is respectfully referred to Doctor McGiffert's *Eusebius*, pp. 395–7, where he will find the matter ably argued.

prison a broken man, and died in 253, in his sixty-ninth year. He died and was buried at Tyre, perhaps the scene of his "confession," and when in later days a Cathedral Church of the Holy Sepulchre was built there, the body of this great doctor of the Church was entombed in the wall back of the high altar. Even at this day the Arab dwellers on the site show a stone-covered vault among their huts, and say that "Oriunus" is buried there. It is a meet parable of the persistence of some of his leading thoughts amid the ruins of much that the Church has treasured in the interval. His mistakes were neither few nor small. They that love him best will acknowledge that. But it may be claimed that for largeness of learning, for fruitful energy in work, for sweetness of character in the loving imitation of Christ, he was the glory of the Church of his day. Feared and hated as he certainly was by many of the brethren, he made the Church stronger for his life in it, and almost every great man in the Eastern Church for fifty years after Origen's death was either a personal pupil of that great teacher, or somehow an instrument of his fashioning.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CHURCH AND THE EMPIRE FROM COMMODUS TO DIOCLETIAN: CYPRIAN AND HIS TIMES.

RETURNING to the West, we may do well to set before ourselves in one brief view the relations of Christianity with the government from Commodus to Diocletian. There was no long-settled policy, because there was no such thing as a dynasty remaining long in power. As each emperor passed away, the supreme power fell from the dying ruler's hand to the strongest hand that was near to grasp it, more often a distinguished general than a natural heir. Septimius, a North African soldier, established himself on the throne after the murder of Commodus in 193. Inclined at first to show favor to Christians, as believing that he had been restored from dangerous sickness by Proculus, a Christian of his household, who anointed him with oil and prayed over him, he became in 202 a persecutor, issuing an edict which forbade the making of proselytes either to Judaism or to Christianity. His son Caracalla, 211-217, though murderous and cruel, had contracted a prejudice in his boyhood against persecution of Christians, and put an end to it as soon as possible after his father's death. One act of Caracalla's reign had far-reaching consequences for the Christian Church. By extending the privilege of Roman citizenship to all

the free inhabitants of the Empire, he made it impossible to crucify a Christian, or throw him to the wild beasts, or even subject him to torture, unless that Christian were a slave, or the case had been referred to the emperor in person. Law might indeed be violated in times of popular excitement, and Roman citizenship could never more be regarded as seriously as when it had been the privilege of a few. But that every free Christian man was ranked henceforth as a Roman citizen, must have been a partial protection against wanton cruelties.

Caracalla was murdered by Macrinus, who then succeeded him, but gave place in a few months to Elagabalus, 218–222, a monster of vice, and a devotee of the most degrading heathenism, but in nowise disposed to persecute anything that passed as a religion. His cousin and successor, Alexander Severus, 222–235, best of Roman emperors since the Antonines, was also an eclectic in religion, but an eclectic of a nobler order. In the oratory of his private devotions he had no images of heathen gods, but statues of great men of history or legend, who had somehow specially attracted him, Alexander the Great, Orpheus, Apollonius of Tyana, Abraham from the Old Testament Scriptures, Jesus Christ from the New. We have seen his mother, Julia Mamæa, whose power over him was great, seeking to put herself under the influence of Origen. Probably both Julia and Alexander were agnostic souls of the kind who believe a little of everything, and only a little of anything, but at least there was no persecution in this reign. It was a Christian custom to announce

the names of candidates for ordination, so that if there were any objection to any of them the objectors might be heard. This custom Alexander is said to have imitated in connection with his appointments to important offices of State, so that he might be warned against unfit men. It is told also that there was a dispute about the ownership of a piece of ground in Rome. The Christians claimed it, and were going to build a church. Tradition says that it was the site of *Sta. Maria in Trastevere.* The Guild of Cooks wanted it too, and plainly thought that the Christian body could not hold any property securely. Alexander astonished them by deciding that it was better that land be used for the worship of the Deity in any manner, than that it be given to cooks.[1]

Alexander and his mother being murdered in their camp on the Rhine, near Mayence, Maximin the Thracian, a giant eight feet high, and the first "barbarian" that ever ruled the Romans, occupied the throne for three years, 235–238. In brutish opposition to his predecessor, Maximin persecuted Christians because Alexander had favored them. It was his policy to attack the leaders, and thus Pontianus of Rome and Hippolytus were banished to deadly

[1] The building of churches for Christian worship would seem to date from this reign. It can hardly have begun earlier. Probably the Church began with worship from house to house, then went on to the giving up of great rooms for permanent religious use by people of wealth, then to the building of large halls especially for Christian uses on private property, then at last to the open purchase of real estate and putting up of a building by a Christian congregation as such. By the end of the century church buildings were fairly common, and were a recognized object for a persecutor's attack.

Sardinia, but persecution was by no means confined to such distinguished men. In this reign Origen's rich helper, Ambrose, became a confessor at Cæsarea, and was sent an exile into Germany. To the same period is ascribed the marvellous story of St. Ursula and XI. M. V., which being misinterpreted, made eleven *martyr* virgins into eleven *thousand* virgins.

Gordian, 238–244, left the Christians undisturbed. Philip the Arabian, his murderer and successor, 244–249, was a correspondent of Origen, and came to be supposed, a century and a half later, to have been the first Christian emperor. Protector he may have been, convert never. He fell in his turn before Decius, whose brief reign, 249–251, is memorable in the Church's story. It was Marcus Aurelius over again, a ruler of the old Roman stock and temper, determined to suppress what he held to be corrupting forces in the civil life of his day. Thus he revived the office of Censor, unfilled since the days of Tiberius. In the same serious spirit of reform he set out to destroy Christianity, and knowing better than Marcus how great a task that was, he set about it even more seriously and systematically. We have nothing like a systematic record of the sufferers, only striking examples recorded here and there. Of bishops, we are told that Fabian of Rome, Babylas of Antioch, Carpus of Thyatira and Pionius of Smyrna were enrolled in the noble army of martyrs, and Alexander of Jerusalem died in prison at Cæsarea, a confessor. Polyeuctus, a soldier, died for Christ on the banks of the Euphrates, and the maiden Agatha in Sicily. Lampsacus on the Hellespont

boasted four martyrs, and great Alexandria a host of them, among whom Nemesion was burned "between two thieves," glorying in the insult which brought him nearer to the imitation of Jesus Christ. Abdon and Sennen, Persian princes, suffered at Rome, and the fresco in the Catacombs recalls their strange names and foreign dress. If the story of Cassian of Imola, schoolmaster and shorthand-writer, given over to his boys to be put to death with their sharpened styles, seems like a tasteless jest of some late inventor, it must be remembered that those were days when savage cruelty and delighting in witnessing victims' pain were taught people from childhood in every Roman town. The story of St. Cassian, if not certain, is not impossible. Bithynia, Thrace, Crete, all had their martyrs. Africa furnished, as usual, a splendid muster-roll. When Decius died in battle after a reign of but thirty months, it must have been felt in all the Churches that the Lord had shortened the days.

Yet even so Gallus, 251–253, did not stay the persecution. He only did not press it on with a master hand. And a plague which devastated large portions of the Empire in these years did something to aggravate persecution by exciting superstitious fear. Valerian, 253–260, began his career as a favorer of Christians, of whom he had many in his household, but in 257, under the influence of a colleague, Macrianus, he published an edict that all Christians must return to the religion of their fathers or suffer banishment. The next year a fresh edict proclaimed the penalty of death for the Christian clergy, and for

senators, and men of standing generally, loss of position and forfeiture of property. Women of rank were to lose their property, and go into exile. Obstinacy in any case was to be met with death.

The most notable victims of this persecution were Xystus, Bishop of Rome, his more famous deacon, Lawrence, burned over a slow fire in the attempt to make him disclose the wealth that was understood to be in his keeping, and Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage. To this persecution belongs the first known to us of Spanish martyrs, Fructuosus, Bishop of Tarragona. He was burned alive, with two of his deacons, and St. Augustine boasts (*Sermon* 273) that Hercules (the legendary founder of Tarragona) could avail nothing "against one feeble old man, shaking in every limb." The feeble old man was of a stout heart. He refused a cup of cordial offered him on his way to death. It was Friday morning, and the fast lasted till mid-afternoon. At the gate of the amphitheatre he spoke to the people who were crowding after him: "Be of good cheer. You shall not want for a pastor, neither shall the love and promise of God fail you here or hereafter. This which you behold is but the weakness of an hour." A Christian caught his hand, and begged him to remember him. "I must bear in mind," said the martyr, "the whole Catholic Church spread from the East to the West." The fires were kindled, and the martyr's bonds were shortly burned away. Then "mindful of his customary form," the old man bent his trembling knees and so finished his world-wide prayers in the attitude of prayer. A small punctilio!

Yes, but not too small. Nothing was too great to be endured and endeavored, but then also nothing was too small to be cared for, in the service of his Lord.

Valerian fell from power in 260, becoming a hopeless prisoner in the hands of the Persian king Sapor. His son Gallienus, who succeeded, 260–268, put an immediate end to the persecution and proclaimed Christianity a *religio licita*, an officially tolerated worship. The East did not enter into this freedom till the death of Macrianus three years later. Then the Church "had rest forty years." The great Aurelian, 270–275, had resolved to be a persecutor, but he was cut off by death. Diocletian, 284–305, began, like Valerian, with favoring Christians, but came to be so turned against them in the last of his life as to begin in 303 the most deadly of all persecutions. The "tenth wave," that last overwhelming, horrible assault was called, from which the bruised, bewildered, fainting Church was lifted into sudden sunshine by Constantine's Edicts of Toleration.

From this sketch of the relations of Church and State we must go back to take up the story of the Western Church in the middle of the third century. The Church's story is the story of Cyprian of Carthage, for two years, 246–248, a fresh convert from heathenism, then for ten years more a bishop, suddenly exalted to be the very prince of Latin Christianity, then more highly exalted still as a martyr, sealing his testimony with his blood.

Thascius Cyprianus was a man of distinction in heathen Carthage, a lawyer, an orator, a rich man

owning a fine estate in the best residence-section of the city, a man with many friends in the best heathen society, a man who, as the leading advocate of the African bar, famous for centuries for its eloquence and power—Africa was called "nurse of pleaders" in the days of Juvenal—had fame and fortune at his feet. Of the history of his conversion we know nothing, save that he regarded himself as owing his soul to the presbyter Cæcilianus. His convictions once formed were strong and clear, his powers were splendid, and we need not be surprised that shortly after his baptism, which probably took place at the Easter festival, 246, we find him living in the house of Cæcilianus as an attendant deacon. Two characteristics of Cyprian must be set down at once. He was a man of immense self-sacrifice and (if one dare say it) of eminent self-will. The self-sacrifice appears over and over. As catechumen, he sells some of his property that he may give the proceeds to relieve distress among the poor. As deacon, he strips himself of his beautiful gardens, which friends bought in after a time, and restored to him, insisting that he must keep his home there. But the self-will keeps showing too. It is the necessary quality of a man of extraordinary power and deep conviction and devoted purpose. It is only fair to add that while Cyprian had his temptations on that side, his self-will was always tempered by charity, by soberness of judgment, by real humility. His supreme object was always the development of a really Christ-like life. "This is what people ought to do who want to please God," was a characteristic form of counsel

with him, according to Pontius, his deacon and biographer. Wanting to please God was a motive never far from his thoughts. He was always trying, as Archbishop Benson[1] finely renders a clumsy phrase of Pontius, "to translate the ancient saints into modern life."

Diaconate and presbyterate must have been very brief. But little more than two years from Cyprian's baptism, Donatus, bishop of Carthage, died, and Cyprian was called to succeed him. There was objection among the clergy, and a certain group of five presbyters were irreconcilable in their opposition to the choice of a "novice" to be their head, but the laity were outspoken in demanding for their leader the golden-mouthed orator, the warm-hearted helper of their suffering poor, the man whom they felt to be a man of power. The neighboring bishops confirmed the election, and Cyprian was consecrated, and entered upon his work.

"A bishop's work uphill" is the heading given by Archbishop Benson to his account of the next few months. It does seem as if the Church in Africa was a Church of particularly low attainments. At any rate there were bishops so poorly supported that they deemed it necessary to supplement their incomes by means of agriculture, commerce, usury, and even the slave-trade. There were bishops whose honesty was doubted in the markets, and bishops whose morality in other lines was not above suspi-

[1] *Cyprian, His Life, His Times, His Work*, p. 21. This life of Cyprian by the late Archbishop of Canterbury is beyond comparison the reference-book for all who wish to get vivid ideas of the Cyprianic acts and age.

cion. Some again were too ignorant to prepare their catechumens for baptism, or to escape the introduction of heretical phrases into their liturgies. Among the clergy could be found makers of idols and compounders of incense for heathen use. One of Cyprian's first letters is addressed to a brother-bishop, Euchratius, who asks what is to be done with an exactor, who has left the horrible atmosphere of the stage of those days, but still earns his living by training boys for that detestable life. Cyprian's answer is characteristic. If the man cannot find any other means of support, he must be put on the Church's poor-roll, and be content with only a bare subsistence. If he refuses, he must be excommunicated. If the Church over which Euchratius presides is too poor to support the man, let him be sent to Carthage and enrolled among the poor there. This case illustrates not only Cyprian's mind, but his position. The Pope of Carthage [1] has no authority over these bishops around him, though he presides in their

[1] "*Papa*," which the Church might have translated by "Father," but has chosen to render as "Pope," seems to have been an African title in its origin. The common statement that it was in early times a title of all bishops is without foundation, though in the fifth century it had come to be a common piece of politeness to use it in addressing a bishop of distinction. Optatus of Carthage is called "our *Papa*" in the vision of Saturus (p. 244). Tertullian in his *De Pudicitia* (xiii.) calls some bishop "*benedictus papa*," but even if, which is very doubtful, he meant the Roman bishop, he was using an African, not a Roman title. Heraclas of Alexandria, 232–247, is referred to as "*papa*" by his successor Dionysius, and the title of the bishop of Alexandria for ages has been "Pope and Patriarch of the great city Alexandria, and Œcumenical Judge." Cyprian's Roman correspondents address him as "blessed Pope," the "*benedictus papa*" of Tertullian's sneer, but never speak of their own bishop so. The first Roman bishop to have the title is Marcellinus, 296–304.

meetings. But Cyprian has authority *with* his colleagues from the start. He was a born leader, and he began forthwith to lead.

One of the new bishop's special cares was to watch over the Church virgins. It was an understood thing that a Christian woman might have a vocation to give herself irrevocably to the service of God in a single life, just as much as some other might be called to commit herself irrevocably to the service of God in the wedded life. Cyprian had the heartiest belief in such vocations and respect for them. The virgins are "the flower of the ecclesiastical seed," "the more illustrious portion of Christ's flock." Yet he has much fault to find. They are in the habit of attending marriage-feasts, where a shameless license of speech and manners still prevails. Many of them, naturally, are rich. The poor could not thus dedicate themselves for want of an assured support. The rich virgin, then, is liable to some special temptations, which call out from the watchful chief pastor a treatise *On the Dress of Virgins*. There is as yet no bringing together of the dedicated into one company, with a uniform dress, a fixed rule, a central authority. Nay, we find cases where such women, probably having no homes or heathen homes, had shared the dwellings, and even the bed-chambers, of some of the clergy. It seems to have been a matter of foolhardy, yet in its first meaning holy, audacity of devotees who firmly believed that they could tread upon all the power of the enemy. Cyprian refuses to impute bad motives. They who should be adjudged after strict trial to have preserved

their innocence are to suffer no penalty for the past. But for any renewal of such scandalous appearances after this warning excommunication is the only possible answer.

The Decian persecution broke upon the Church, and men began to be sifted as wheat. All Christians must renounce their religion, and obtain a magistrate's certificate to that effect before a given day, or else they would be liable to torture and death. Cyprian went into concealment. He was blamed for it by many, and the Roman clergy, led by a Puritan presbyter, Novatian, and glorying in the martyrdom of their own Fabian, expressed grave concern for their brethren whose bishop had left them pastorless. Cyprian, with solemn irony, returned their letter on the ground that it was manifestly a forgery. Of course they had not been guilty of such an impertinence. To us his courage needs no defence. Neither does his judgment. He saw the Church of North Africa in sore need of leadership. He believed that he was called to be a leader. He saved himself for the work of God. Self-preservation did not mean self-indulgence for the bishop of Carthage, rich and gifted and admired as he was. It meant daily griefs of opposition of good men, of misconstruction, of jealousy, of failure to accomplish good purposes, of perplexity, of temptation, of discouragement, and all this borne by an exile trying to manage great affairs from a precarious hiding-place, through agents of inferior capacity.

Cyprian had expected his Church to show itself weak. The havoc actually wrought by persecution

was beyond his worst fears. There were martyrs not a few, and confessors even more wonderful in their long endurance. Space fails to tell the glorious story which the bishop's letters bring before us. But on the other hand, he reckons that more than one half of the whole Christian population apostatized. They did not even wait to be summoned to trial and death. They flocked to the offices of the magistrates, they crowded the neighboring streets, they brought young children, even infants fresh from their baptism, to have the incense-grains dropped from their tiny hands. Many of the clergy deserted their posts, and some denied their Saviour. The bishop is described as feeling like one sitting amid the ruins of his house. And yet this terrible falling away was followed by a sweeping reaction. Misery was the portion of those who really believed, and yet had denied. Some of them came before the magistrates to denounce themselves as still servants of Jesus Christ, and were admitted to the baptism of blood. Others hid themselves out of sight, and passed their lives in mourning and self-abasement. Some, indeed, made light of their sin, excusing it as a matter of necessity. But one way or another, there were a great host that wanted to be recognized as Christians, though they had once denied Christ. What was the Church to do?

Till Cyprian's time the Church had never been required to meet that question with a definite policy. The Decian persecution forced it on. The great bishop from his refuge began to gird himself to the task. These *Lapsi*—"the fallen" is the simple

meaning of Cyprian's word, and "the lapsed" is somewhat over-technical in its sound—were divisible into three classes, *Sacrificati*, *Thurificati*, *Libellatici*. The first, the Sacrificers, had gone through an elaborate heathen ceremonial, putting on the "liturgic veil," assisting at a victim's death, bringing a portion to the altar fire. They had gone out of their way to identify themselves with heathenism beyond the requirements of the law. The next, the Incense-offerers, had simply thrown a little incense on the fire burning before some image, as a passing formality of acknowledgment of the established religion. No one regarded it as meaning much in the way of belief in heathen gods, but it did mean—the magistrates knew that well—the giving up of that exclusiveness of sovereignty over the believer's life, which was the very thing which made the Roman authorities most bitter against the Christian name. A Christian who on a pinch would do what the law insisted on his doing, was a Christian of whom the Empire need have no fear. And that same common sense was in the dealings of the magistracy with the third class,—the *Libellatici*, the Certificate-holders. Doubtless every Christian who sacrificed, or offered incense, received for his protection a certificate of having done so, but the *Libellatici* were Christians who had secured such certificates without having done the evil deeds at all. Certificates could be bought for money. They were offered by favor. They might be obtained by fraud. The magistrates were willing to have it all go on. The Empire need

not fear any Christian who was not inflexibly loyal to his God.

But while Roman magistrates judged thus shrewdly, it was hard for a good many Christians to see that it was apostasy from Jesus Christ just to accept a certificate that one had sacrificed, when one never had, and never would. Some consciences could not be made to feel deeply that the burning of a grain of incense before an idol was such a deadly sin, when one did not believe in it, nor mean anything by it, and it was done only to save one's life. In such a dangerous time untender consciences contrived a most dangerous way to peace.

It was a very natural way, too. The Church's ordinary machinery was out of gear. The bishop, the chief judge of matters of discipline, was in hiding. The eyes of all the Carthaginian Church were fixed on the daily spectacle of the "confessors," many of them on the way to martyrdom itself. The "fallen" of all classes turned to these prisoners of hope, beseeching them to secure their restoration to the Church's peace. It began with small beginnings, as all movements do. A Carthaginian at Rome, who had been an eminent sufferer, begged a friend among the confessors at Carthage to get them to join in asking mercy for his two sisters. A Carthaginian martyr left a dying request in behalf of his mother. The first requests were for persons naturally connected with the petitioners, and they asked simply that the regular authorities would be as tender as they could, when they came to sit in judgment in the regular way. But when the idea of interference

was once started, it was like the letting out of waters. The prisons were besieged. The confessors—alas!—became inflated. *Libelli pacis*, not mere requests for gentle consideration, but certificates purporting to admit the bearer to the Church's communion, were issued, Cyprian's letters tell us, by thousands in a day. At last there appeared a paper purporting to come from "all the confessors," and granting peace to "all the fallen." There was to be a general amnesty, a wiping of the slate, a break-down, in other words, of all discipline.

It was the natural result of a frenzy of admiration which Cyprian himself had done much to cultivate. "Oh! blessed prison," he had written to the confessors, "on which your presence hath shed light! Oh! blessed prison, which sends the men of God to heaven! Oh! darkness shining above the sun itself, and brighter than this light of the world!" (*Letter* lxxx.) "How blessed is our Church, which the greatness of the divine favor thus illuminates, on which in these our times the glorious blood of the martyrs sheds radiance! Aforetime she was white in the good works of the brethren, now is she empurpled in the blood of the martyrs. Her garlands lack neither the lily nor the rose. Now let every one contend for the fullest meed of either honor. Let them win a crown either white with good works or purple with suffering. In the heavenly camp both peace and war have their own garlands wherewith the soldier of Christ may be crowned for victory" (*Letter* viii.). If on the whole the balance is here held true, yet the effect was likely

to be one-sided. The martyrs are spoken of as "dazzling" (*rutili*). Certainly the eyes of the Church were dazzled. Old distinctions between "strict" and "lax" were lost for a time in a mad rush to lay all discipline at the confessors' feet.

It needed a strong man to stem such a tide, but Cyprian accomplished it. His two great objects at first were to gain time, and to bring the sounder opinion of the Church at large to bear upon his province. For both purposes he developed an active correspondence with the Roman Church, which gave him cordial support. He laid down two preliminary propositions, that the question was too large for any one bishop, or group of bishops, to handle alone, and that certainly the fallen ought in no case to be restored on such terms as to put a premium on apostasy. He suggested (1) that the whole subject should be kept waiting till large councils of bishops could come together safely, and agree on some general principles of procedure, (2) that then the local cases should be left to be examined and administered under such general rules by the bishop and his clergy in every town, and (3) that in the meantime this honor should be paid to the confessors, that when any one holding one of their certificates of peace was in danger of death, he should be at once restored to communion without question.

This wise and sober scheme was heartily approved by the Roman clergy, headed by Novatian. It prevailed finally at Carthage, but not without an interval of confusion and distress. The five presbyters who had chiefly opposed Cyprian's election embraced

this opportunity to make trouble for him. Whatever he proposed seemed bad, probably, in their jaundiced eyes. Their effect upon the fallen, whom they incited to refuse discipline and demand immediate restoration, was so demoralizing that Cyprian compares this "five" to the five imperial commissioners who had conducted the persecution itself. Chief among them was Novatus, the presbyter in charge of "the Hill," the part of Carthage where the citadel and some other chief buildings were, with probably a rich and self-important congregation. Novatus made one Felicissimus his deacon at the Hill church without the bishop's consent to the appointment,[1] and then the presbyter offered "peace" to any number of the fallen, while the deacon, with the Church alms in his keeping, was ready to give money help to any of the poor among them, provided only that they would promise not to submit to Cyprian. It became necessary to excommunicate Felicissimus and a few others of his party, among them a seamstress and a sausage-maker, apparently poor persons who had swallowed the deacon's bribe. Novatus betook himself to Rome with a heart bent on mischief. He would have had a trial, if he had remained, on charges of shameful cruelty to his aged father and his own wife. Felicissimus attached himself to another of the five presbyters, Fortunatus, and later persuaded him to accept consecration as a rival bishop

[1] That he made the man a deacon in the sense of professing to *ordain* him, is asserted by Doctor Hatch (*Bampton Lectures*, p. 110) with no particular ground, and against a serious weight of objection. Cyprian was not the man to leave such an irregularity uncomplained of.

of Carthage from one Privatus, a former bishop of Lambæse, who had himself been deposed for heresy and other grave offences. But before that happened the party of laxity was practically crushed. Some threats from the factious clergy kept Cyprian from returning, as he had hoped, to keep Easter, 251, in Carthage, but the laity generally believed in their bishop and followed him, and he was soon able to come back to them after an absence of fourteen months.

Easter had fallen on March 23. It was probably early in April that Cyprian had the happiness of meeting in council a gathering of bishops from the provinces of Africa, Numidia, and the Mauritanias. They came to consider the behavior of the refractory clergy and the general subject of the lapsed. In the former matter Cyprian was thoroughly upheld. In the latter he was brought to change his mind. He did not always tell his thoughts, and he had the grace of withholding his own judgment from ripening too fast. When he had proposed to postpone for a time the question of the "fallen," his object was to give other people a chance of coming to a better mind. To his own surprise, probably, he found his own mind changing. He was more ready to make allowance, and to sanction gentle measures. The decision of the council was that all cases must be examined on their own merits, but that in general Libellatics were to be restored after some years of penance, persons who had actually sacrificed, not till the hour of death. If any held back from public penance till they were dangerously ill, they were not to be re-

ceived at all. The council made no provision for the case of a man restored on what seemed to be a death-bed, and afterward recovering. Such a case came before Cyprian afterward, and with a characteristic mingling of charity and dry humor he suggested that it would not do to insist on a man's dying. If he had fulfilled the appointed conditions of restoration to the Church's peace, and then God had wonderfully raised him up and given him an extension of his earthly life, it was plainly God's will that the man should have and enjoy what the Church had rightly by its rule bestowed.

But while the council was thus attending to its regular business, it was agitated from time to time by disturbing news from Rome. Just as it began its sessions, Cyprian had received a letter from Cornelius, long known as a Christian presbyter of noble family, announcing his election and consecration as bishop of Rome. With the letter came also one of bitter protest against the whole procedure from the still more eminent Roman presbyter, Novatian. Earnestly and unselfishly as Cyprian always labored for what he believed to be the right, it does seem more like the heathen lawyer and politician than like the Christian bishop, that he suppressed the protest of Novatian until he himself should have had an opportunity to make up his mind about the matter. Like many other able men, he wanted to "steer" his colleagues, and make sure that they voted properly. Enough for them to know vaguely that there was trouble at Rome, and to vote to send a committee of two, friends whom Cyprian could thoroughly

trust, to investigate and report. They were to find out if there had been a regular election and valid consecration, and bring written certificates if it were so, and they were also to use their endeavors to restore harmony. Before there was time for these envoys to return, two other African bishops arrived from Rome, bringing convincing testimony as to all that had occurred. Cornelius had been fairly elected and duly consecrated. Yet Novatian had since been consecrated as a rival bishop and was demanding to be recognized in his stead.

Novatian, successor of Hippolytus in the Puritan leadership at Rome, was a man of remarkable character and history. A Stoic philosopher, a writer of considerable ability, a diligent student and noted orator, he seems to have learned his Christianity in his mature years from some of those who held that no great sin committed after baptism could ever have forgiveness in this life. Such views naturally led men to postpone baptism, and we need not wonder that Novatian himself was baptized on what seemed to be his deathbed. Such were called clinic baptisms, and the Church's general (and reasonable) rule was that no man who had so put off obedience to Christ's command should be commissioned as an officer in Christ's army. Novatian, moreover, had refused on his recovery to complete his baptism by receiving from the bishop the anointing and the laying on of hands without which it was the general opinion that no Christian could expect to "receive the Holy Ghost." The martyred Fabian had overruled—not wisely, it would seem,—the general judg-

ment of his clergy, and had insisted on ordaining this man, narrow, hard, self-willed, but manifestly a man of power. Unpopular, probably, both by his character and by his rigid views, he had made himself leader and spokesman of the Roman clergy after Fabian's death. With his great ability he is said to have had also a vaulting ambition. He could not fail to have visions of what he could do for what he believed to be the reform of the Church, if only he were bishop of the Roman see. When the question of the fallen came up, Novatian felt that in Cyprian he had an ally. Both thought it outrageous to transfer the Church's discipline from the bishop and his clergy to the confessors in their prison. Both thought that discipline should be severe. But it presently appeared that when multitudes fell into a sin together, great severity would mean great ruin of souls,—either wide-spread apostasy, or the making of an easy-going sect. Then these leaders fell apart. Cyprian would bring his net to land so full that it would break here and there. Novatian could bear no breaking. He cared more for the net than for the fish.

Strangely enough, on the other hand, Novatian and Cyprian's Carthaginian adversary Novatus drew together. At Carthage, as we have seen, the worship of martyrs and confessors had been almost unbounded. Men of all sorts of opinions as to what the Church might do in its ordinary procedure had been carried away by this tide of fanaticism to think that whatever a martyr or confessor asked for was to be regarded as a matter of special revelation.

But when the whole Church set that idea aside, Puritans who had been eager for the restoring of the fallen at what they had regarded as a heavenly direction, would yet be scandalized at seeing the same persons restored by a body claiming no extraordinary guidance. There was a Puritan party at Carthage. Very likely Novatus had belonged to it. His faults are said to have been those of a cold hardness. At any rate, when Novatian was indignant at the too easy terms granted to returning sacrificers and libellatics, and embittered by the election of dull Cornelius to the place which he would have filled so much more brilliantly, Novatus haunted him like an evil genius, tempting him to divide the Church. It was undoubtedly against the Puritan conscience to receive such offenders as these of the late persecution, unless it were by special revelation. Novatian was soon persuaded that he could not even hold communion with a Church that received them. Sixteen bishops had attended the consecration of Cornelius. Novatus scoured Italy and secured three whose consciences were of Novatian's order. These came together and consecrated the Puritan leader to be bishop, unelected, of the faithful at Rome.

At first glance it might seem the most hopeless of causes in which Novatian had embarked. Everything had been regular and orderly in the election of Cornelius. His rival's elevation was in every way the reverse. The only possible ground on which Novatian could maintain himself was that by laxity of discipline the leaders of the Church had apostatized. The "faithful city" had "become a harlot."

It remained to gather out of the ruins of a fallen Church a congregation of faithful men. That plea was everywhere rejected[1] by the main body of the Church with scorn, but Novatian had not altogether miscalculated the force of it. Though the movement was everywhere treated as a schism, it had everywhere its adherents. It covered the Church's territory with its rival bishops. It lived and grew. It brought to an issue a question which had been long dividing men: Is the Church a museum for the preservation of saints? or a hospital for the cure of sinners? Novatian aimed to provide the museum. He proposed to make the Kingdom of God a field of wheat without tares, a net enclosing none but good fish. The experiment has always failed, but there has never been a time in history when a strong leader eager to try it could not command a considerable following.

Such plantings are always rooted up in time; but this schism lasted into the eighth century to the weakening of the Catholic Church. The worst thing that the Church can suffer from a Puritan party is to be governed by it. The next worst is to lose it out of the Church's fellowship, and leave without proper balance the opposite extreme of laxity and lowness of standard. In that way we may be sure that our Lord's cause suffered loss. It has been

[1] At Antioch alone among the great sees there was hesitation. The bishop, Fabius, had Puritan leanings. Firmilian, bishop of Cappadocian Cæsarea, Helenus of Tarsus, and Theoctistus of Cæsarea in Palestine, were arranging for a great meeting of bishops at Antioch to steady, if possible, their wavering brother's loyalty, when his death put an end to doubt.

noted that the movement was especially successful in that tumultuous, inconstant Asia Minor, where so many divisive movements had gathered force before. It may be taken as an illustration of a pitiful law,—the more the Church is divided in any community, the easier it is to make more divisions. Division may be a duty. It is always an evil. Its worst evil is that it tends to utter disintegration. It was so in Asia Minor. It is so in America. And what is our gain? Probably no serious historian supposes that the Church of the third century was a better Church for being divided into a Puritan and a Catholic Communion.[1]

When the news of this schism reached Carthage, Cyprian was profoundly moved. He cannot have had any doubt as to the line which the bishops in council would take, but he knew the strength of the Puritan party, and he looked with utter horror on the prospect of a division of Christians into rival camps. He brought his eloquence to bear upon the situation by means of an oration before the council, shortly published as a treatise, *On the Unity of the Church* (*De Unitate Ecclesiæ*). He urges upon his hearers that the Church is confronted by a great new danger. As heathenism begins to fall before

[1] At the time of the Council of Nicæa it was felt that Catholics and Novatians, holding a common faith, ought to unite in defending it against Arian innovations. The emperor invited Acesius, an eminent Novatianist bishop, who came and assented to the decisions about matters of faith. Constantine urged that this was a time when the old division ought to be healed. In vain. Acesius refused inflexibly to communicate with a Church of sinners. The emperor turned upon him with a sudden flash of humor,—"Set up a ladder, Acesius, and climb into heaven by yourself."

the Kingdom of God, the evil powers are preparing to tempt men more subtly by imitations of the Holy Kingdom itself. They will be deceived by false shows of goodness, by goodness that really displays every virtue save the one essential virtue of obedience to the will of God. Let no one suppose that a separation from the Catholic Church is an innocent thing because "confessors" have part in it. Good men may fall, but separation *cannot* be innocent. The Church of Christ is one, it ought to be one, it cannot be anything else but one. "Part a ray of the sun from its orb, and its unity forbids this division of light; break a branch from the tree, once broken, it can bud no more; cut the stream from its fountain, the remnant will be dried up. Thus the Church, flooded with the light of the Lord, puts forth her rays through the whole world, with yet one light. She stretcheth forth her branches over the universal earth, in the riches of plenty, and pours abroad her bounteous flowing streams; yet is there one head, one source, one Mother, abundant in the results of her fruitfulness" (v.). "He can no longer have God for a Father, who has not the Church for a Mother. If any man was able to escape who remained without the Ark of Noah, then will that man escape who is out of doors beyond the Church" (vi.). Our Lord's coat was seamless, "an inviolate and individual robe." "He cannot own Christ's garment, who splits and divides Christ's Church." "When the twelve tribes of Israel were rent asunder, the prophet Ahijah rent his garment. But because Christ's people cannot be rent, His coat

woven and conjoined throughout, was not divided by those it fell to" (vii.). Some appealed to the promise to the "two or three" gathered in the Lord's Name. They deceitfully suppress, says Cyprian, the verse immediately preceding their Text,—*If two of you shall agree on earth, . . . it shall be given you.* "He places agreement first. Hearts at peace are the first condition. He teaches that we must agree together faithfully and firmly. Yet how can he be said to be at agreement with other, who is at disagreement with the Church itself, and with the universal brotherhood" (xii.)?

Two criticisms have been brought against the *De Unitate* unjustly. It has been said to present a novel theory of the Church as a single, indivisible, world-wide organization, or rather organism, a theory invented by Cyprian for the occasion, to save the Church from the evils of disruption. He believed it honestly enough, men say, when it occurred to him, but it had never occurred to him before. If any one cares to look into this matter, it is well discussed in Archbishop Benson's *Cyprian*, pp. 186–191, where it is abundantly shown that this theory of a Catholic Church is one that Cyprian had held from the beginning of his Christian career, and that it is older than Cyprian himself. The second criticism maintains that Cyprian's theory of a Catholic Church leads logically to the Roman system as its result. Doubtless the Roman Communion has greatly profited at times by proclaiming Cyprian's doctrine that there can be but one Church, and adding to it an important *proviso*, to which Cyprian would never

have given his adhesion, that if the Church is fatally rent in twain, the part which has an enormous majority in mere numbers must of course be the true Body of Christ. But that is no fair outcome of Cyprian's teaching at all. In fact Cyprian's idea of the maintaining of unity is just the opposite of the Roman idea.

For the great Roman idea of settling controversy and saving unity is that all the rest of the Christian world should submit to the guidance of the bishop of Rome. Cyprian not only does not foresee the necessity for such a government of the Church, he provides beforehand against the possibility of it. "There is one episcopate," he says (*Letter* li. 24), "diffused through the harmonious multitude of many bishops," and in the *De Unitate* (v.), "The episcopate is one, it is a whole in which each enjoys full possession." His Latin phrase runs thus, "*Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.*" The idea is that the authority of each bishop is, as Dr. Benson puts it, "a tenure on a totality." One might use a more familiar law term, and render the phrase, "The episcopate is a single property, in which each holder owns one undivided part." A bishop might be, must be, put out of his office by action of his peers, if he were found guilty of heresy or immorality. As long as he retained his office, however, he held it as the direct representative of the Lord Jesus Christ, and he was responsible for his administration of it to Him alone. If great questions came up in an episcopal council, a majority of votes could not override a minority. If even in the

greatest practical questions, after ninety-nine bishops had agreed in adopting a rule of action, one single bishop dissented from it, he was at liberty, in Cyprian's idea, to rule his diocese in his own way. He was only not at liberty to break away from the fellowship of his brethren, nor they from him. If one bishop—for instance, the bishop of Rome—excommunicated another bishop because of a difference in practice, the excommunicator excommunicated only himself. Rome would save unity through uniformity by having all bishops submit to one. Cyprian would save unity through free diversity, by having all bishops respect one another's high responsibility, and simply agree to disagree. Even bishops in council did but give advice and come to agreements. They did not pretend to be able to make *laws,* for a bishop was subject only to Jesus Christ.

Yet Roman authors quote very striking testimonies from Cyprian, some of which he really wrote. Does he not say that the unity of the Church begins from Peter and from Peter's see? Well, no! Not in the modern Roman sense. What he does say is that our Lord gave the keys to St. Peter first to show by a symbolic action that the Church was to be one, and its authority a single, undivided authority everywhere. Then He gave precisely the same gift to all the Apostles alike. "On him being one He builds His Church, and though He gives to all the Apostles an equal power, and says, *As My Father hath sent Me,* . . . yet in order to manifest unity, He has by His own authority so placed the source of the same unity as to begin from one. Certainly the other

Apostles were what Peter was, endued with an equal fellowship both of honor and of power, but a commencement is made from unity, that the Church may be set before us as one." "He who holds not this unity of the Church, does he think that he holds the faith?" So Cyprian goes on presently. "He who strives against and resists the Church, is he assured that he is in the Church?"

But let it be well observed that no superior power is asserted as having been given to St. Peter above other Apostles. On the contrary, it is distinctly set down that they have in every way as much as he. He is the symbol, not the necessary centre, of the unity of authority in the Church. Just because this language was not satisfactory to the advocates of later Roman claims, a forger added certain telling phrases to this passage. After "a commencement is made from unity," he added, "and primacy is given to Peter, that the Church may be set forth as one, and the see as one. And they all are shepherds, yet the flock is shown to be one, such as to be fed by all the Apostles with unanimous agreement." Again, after "He who strives against and resists the Church," is added, "He who deserts the See of Peter, on whom the Church is founded." These additions—the proof that they are forgeries is overwhelming—mark just the difference between the Cyprianic view and the Roman. In the late Roman view bishops must govern their churches "by unanimous agreement"; in the Cyprianic, they are free to differ. In the Roman view, leaving the Chair of Peter is separating one's self from the Church; we

shall presently find Cyprian separating himself from the Roman bishop in a great matter, and taking the ground that if he is excommunicated for it, the Roman bishop will be the only one hurt.[1]

There is no support for modern Roman theories in Cyprian. Nevertheless, he has two radical errors which must here be pointed out. The first is his idea that the Church cannot by any possibility be divided. Alas! it can be. History has refuted him. Even Roman theory acknowledges the Churches of Greece and Russia and the East as part of the Church of Christ, though separated from the Church of Rome. All modern Christianity has been forced to see that the Church may be divided into churches, however much it may be a sin so to divide it, or to hold the fragments apart. Furthermore, the Roman and Anglican Communions hold that every person who has received Christian baptism is a member of the Catholic Church of Christ, whether he is or is not in fellowship with any particular ecclesi-

[1] One favorite Roman quotation from Cyprian is drawn from his letter (liv.) to Cornelius of Rome, in which he speaks of the party of Felicissimus and Fortunatus as daring to make an appeal "*ad cathedram Petri atque ad ecclesiam principalem, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est*,"—"to the chair of Peter and the original Church from which the priestly unity took its rise." Here *unitas sacerdotalis* means "our united body of bishops," "*sacerdos*" being used of bishops only at that time. *Principalis* does not mean "principal" in Tertullian and Cyprian, but "original," "primitive." Finally, Cyprian does not say "takes its rise," but "took its rise." He is not setting down the See of Rome as a perpetual fountain of life and power to the rest of the Church, but simply as the Church from which the first bishops were consecrated for North Africa, the source from which they derived their episcopal succession. "Our bishops," he would say, "have a peculiar right to the sympathy and support of the Church from which our episcopate sprang, as against seceders who have simply stolen this gift of power out of the Church's keeping."

astical organization. In that sense the Church is one and indivisible. There is but one Church of Christ, and one door of entrance into it. But when Cyprian preached that dividing the Church was destroying the Church, that, for one party or the other, schism meant death, he preached a warning that was not true.

The other capital error in Cyprian's theory of the Church is the idea that personal unworthiness in God's ministers vitiates their official acts. It comes out plainly in his letter (lxiii.) to the Christians of Assuræ, whose former bishop had apostatized, and now was claiming his old place again. "Neither can the oblation be consecrated where the Holy Spirit is not," is Cyprian's argument, "nor does the Lord grant grace to any through the prayers and supplications of one who has himself done violence to the Lord."[1] This seems to be the ground of his idea that schismatics cannot be a part of the Church. His argument would run in this way. Schism is a great sin. But a man who is living in great sin can do no divine act. Then a man fallen into schism can no longer baptize or celebrate the Eucharist, confirm, or ordain. There is no power left among such people to continue the Church's life. Hence his terrible accusation in the *De Unitate*. "They think

[1] Archbishop Benson acquits Cyprian of this error on p. 415 of his book,—"In Cyprian . . . there is no trace of such teaching as that the moral character of the priest affects the validity of the Sacrament." But on p. 232 we read of "Cyprian, whose characteristic mistake was to consider every office of a Church vitiated to nullity, if discharged by an unworthy minister." How to reconcile these two statements the present writer knows not, but he feels constrained to take the latter one as representing Cyprian's real mind.

that they can baptize. . . . Men are not cleansed by them, but rather made foul, nor their sins purged away, but rather heaped up. It is a birth that gives children not to God, but to the devil." Out of this idea, that separatists cannot baptize, came shortly the great controversy not only of Cyprian's life, but of the third Christian century.

The next three years are devoted to practical matters. The bishops are invited to meet in council at Carthage once or twice a year, and on these occasions, or in correspondence in the intervals, all men's difficulties are brought to Cyprian for settlement. His letters and the treatises that come pouring from his facile pen set the Church life of Carthage vividly before us. Thus he writes a letter (lxii.) to Cæcilius, senior bishop of the province, to complain that certain bishops have used water instead of wine in the Eucharist. The Eucharistic Cup must be like our Lord's at the Passover Supper, a cup of wine mixed with water. "Water alone cannot be offered, even as wine alone cannot be offered." The union of the water and the wine is to Cyprian's mind a symbol of the union of Christ and His people. "The cup of the Lord is not, indeed, water alone, nor wine alone, unless each be mingled with the other." This shrinking from wine was due solely to people's fear of being detected as Christians from having the scent of wine on their lips in the early morning. That, Cyprian says, is only being ashamed of Christ.

Again, he is consulted by a bishop, Fidus, who wishes that a rule might be made forbidding the

baptism of infants within eight days from birth. Cyprian brings the subject before his third Council in September, 253, and of sixty-six bishops present not one agrees with Fidus. Cyprian writes to him (lviii.), that nothing which God has made can be called unclean,—Fidus had objected to giving the kiss of the newly baptized to an infant so shortly after its birth,—"and by us no one ought to be hindered from baptism and the grace of God." The question whether the baptism of sick persons by mere "sprinkling" can be valid, is raised by a layman, Magnus, and is answered in the affirmative (lxxv.). "In the Sacrament of Salvation the contagion of sins is not in such wise washed away as the filth of the skin and the body is washed away in the carnal, ordinary washing, so that there should be need of saltpetre and other appliances also, and a bath and a basin."

Then come matters of another kind. The Berber tribes press in from the mountains on the south, and carry a multitude of Christians into captivity, a captivity which is likely to be worse than death. Cyprian appeals to his people for contributions in the way of ransom. The sixty-six bishops of the third council add a small offering, and Cyprian sends to the bishops of the eight "parishes" which had suffered this loss, the sum of 100,000 sesterces,[1] to be applied at their discretion.

[1] The *sestertius* is one-fourth of a *denarius*, which latter is the "penny" of our New Testaments. The *denarius* equals seventeen cents, eight and a half d. English, not seven and a half d., as in the margin of our Bibles. The sum mentioned above is over $4,000 in American money, and represents perhaps five times that in what it would do, and in what it was to give.

But already, in the year 252, Carthage itself had suffered an invasion more terrible than even a Berber raid. The plague was desolating the luxurious city. This horrible visitation,—a sort of malignant typhoid fever, it would seem, but of a pestilential power difficult for a modern reader to conceive,—appeared first from Æthiopia in 250, and ranged up and down the Roman Empire for some twenty years. Alexandria is held by Gibbon to have lost half its inhabitants in a second visitation between 261 and 265. Rome knew 5,000 deaths in one day in 262. A Gothic invasion was broken up by the disease in Thrace in 270, but ten years earlier the armies of Valerian had been so weakened by it as to open the way for the conquering advance of Sapor. Wherever this pestilence raged, heathen men were utterly demoralized by it. It visited every house, it was horribly fatal, and even where life was spared, it left prostration, deafness, blindness, as its results. The rich fled in every direction. The abandoned houses were plundered by thieves unchecked. Men threw their sick into the streets to die in their panic fear. The dead lay unburied, to the horrible increase of the infection. Not a hospital, it may be noted, was known to the Roman Empire, till after the Empire became Christian. In such conditions Cyprian gathered a mass-meeting of Christians, and delivered such an address as would have converted the whole heathen population, if they could have heard it. At least, so thought the deacon Pontius. The whole Church of Carthage was to be organized as a sort of Red Cross Society, to nurse the sick, to care for the

orphans, to supply the wants of the helpless poor, to bury the dead. That was Cyprian's plan, and he seems to have had a large measure of success. "We should answer to our birth-privileges," was his splendid phrase, quoted for us by Pontius. *Respondere Natalibus!* It is his nobler way of expressing what is familiar to us in the French "*Noblesse oblige.*" The children of a Divine Father must live divinely.[1]

But the mass of men, even of Christian men, need leadership in times of trial. If they are to endure horrors, and do noble deeds at the same time, they must have some one to teach them forcibly the reasons for such behaviour. Cyprian interpreted the situation created by the pestilence in three treatises. The *Ad Demetrianum* (*Address to Demetrian*) is an appeal against heathen misconceptions. Demetrian, once an enquirer, was now a leader in stirring up persecution. Such men found in natural convulsions, crop-failures, pestilence, such as the Empire had lately experienced, visitations from offended gods, angry that Christians had been spared so long to defy them. Cyprian returns answer that it is a visitation from the true God, and in behalf of Christians, not against them. Is he reminded that Christians feel the same stroke? He answers that the power of punishment lies in the suffering that men feel under it, and Christians, who know that death is gain, live calm and undisturbed amid horrors which madden

[1] Dionysius of Alexandria gives a striking picture of the behaviour of heathen and Christian in his plague-stricken city. Interesting for reference, but too long for quotation, it may be found in *Eusebius* (vii. 22).

and brutalize their adversaries. He closes with a terrible denunciation of the wrath to come, when "souls with their bodies will be saved unto suffering in tortures infinite. There that man will be seen by us for ever who made us his spectacle for a season here. What brief enjoyment those cruel eyes received from persecutions wrought upon us, will be balanced against a spectacle eternal." "We may not hate," says Cyprian, and he implores his foe to come and be saved while there is yet time, but there seems to be an un-Christlike readiness to enjoy the sight of never-ending torment. The Church of our age may well correct its opinions sometimes by those of a Church which lived so much nearer to the teachings of Jesus Christ. But the Church of to-day, after all these ages of Christian experience, ought to be much nearer to our Lord's heart, better able to represent and imitate His feeling, than great saints of sixteen centuries ago.

A finer feeling is shown in the *De Mortalitate* (*Concerning the Mortality*), which speaks directly to the Christian of the meaning of all this experience to himself. "Dearest brethren," is its word to all such, "the Kingdom of Heaven has begun to be nigh at hand. Reward of life, and joy of eternal salvation, and perpetual happiness, and possession of Paradise lately lost, already, while the world passes away, are coming nigh. Already heavenly things are succeeding to earthly, and great to small, and eternal to transient. What place is there for anxiety and solicitude?" Death is better than life. Death is safety, death is rest. If the Christian suf-

fers painfully before he is called away, it is his preparation for a crown. If we have to part with our nearest and dearest, while we ourselves live on, we know that they are "not lost, but gone before,"—*non eos amitti, sed præmitti* is Cyprian's phrase,—"and we ought to miss them rather than mourn them, and not be putting on black garments here, when there they are already clothed in white." "Paradise we are to reckon as our fatherland. It is a large and loving company who expect us there, parents, brothers, children, a manifold and numerous assemblage longing after us, who having security of their own immortality, still feel anxiety for our salvation. . . . There is the glorious company of the Apostles; there is the assembly of Prophets exulting; there is the innumerable multitude of Martyrs,[1] crowned after their victory of strife and passion, there are Virgins triumphant; . . . there are merciful men obtaining mercy; . . . . To these, dearest brethren, let us hasten. Let it be the portion which we desire, speedily to be among them, speedily to be gone to Christ."

A third treatise, *De Opere et Eleëmosynis* (*Of Work and Almsdeeds*) rounds out the teachings of Cyprian in this time of distress. Amid awful sickness and death, confusion, terror, pillage, and a very frenzy of selfishness on every side, the bishop of the Chris-

[1] Cyprian's phrases here,—"*Apostolorum gloriosus chorus; Prophetarum exultantium numerus; Martyrum innumerabilis populus*,"—seem to have suggested those verses of the *Te Deum*,

> "*Te gloriosus Apostolorum chorus,*
> "*Te Prophetarum laudabilis numerus,*
> "*Te Martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus.*"

tians lifts up his voice to remind men how many and great are the divine benefits,—"that the Father sent the Son to preserve us and give us life, that He might restore us, and that the Son was sent, and willed to be called the Son of Man, that He might make us sons of God; humbled Himself, that He might upraise a race which before was fallen; was wounded, that He might heal our wounds; served, that He might ransom to liberty them that were in servitude; endured to die, that He might give to mortals the boon of immortality." Such benefits must be met in a corresponding temper. The idea of *Respondere Natalibus* is at work in Cyprian's mind. The Lord, the Teacher of our life, he says, enjoins nothing more frequently in the Gospel than almsgiving. Then the excuses of Christians are considered one by one, and pungently answered. Let men face the real fact behind all their flimsy arguments against generosity. It is simply that they are living in darkness, where the vision of Christ is not seen. The great underlying thought which Cyprian brings out at last as his climax, is that the possessions which God allows to each of us are given for the benefit of *all* in His Kingdom. "Day gives its light equally, the sun its radiance, showers their moisture, and wind its breath. There is one sleep to the slumbering, and stars have a common lustre. In which example of equality the earthly possessor who shares his gains and fruits with the brotherhood, free and just in his voluntary bounties, is an imitator of God the Father."

Yet here also is one of the great bishop's weak-

nesses. He had read in Prov. xvi. 6, *By almsgiving and faith sins are purged*, and in Ecclesiasticus iii. 30, *As water extinguisheth fire, so almsgiving quencheth sin.* If he had meant no more than that the cultivation of healthy habits in the soul tends to drive out unhealthy ones, all would have been well. Such preaching is much needed now among a people frightened away from attaching any just value to Christlike deeds. But it must be acknowledged that Cyprian seems really to have meant more. He seems to teach that after a man has once been admitted by free grace into a state of salvation, then in the process of his development his good deeds may somehow go to balance up his bad ones. That opens the door for a good deal of bad theology and bad practice. But admitting, and regretting, that slip, one may find much that is inspiring in the *De Opere.*

A treatise on the Lord's Prayer contains much that is interesting, but it must be passed by. We must hasten on to a great turning-point in Cyprian's life, which brings him into curiously changed relations with the See of Rome. His old ally Cornelius died in exile at Centumcellæ, now Cività Vecchia, in June, 253, and was succeeded by Lucius, who sat but eight months and ten days in the Roman chair. In May, 254, Stephen was chosen bishop, and Stephen and Cyprian were men foredoomed to clash.

The first matters that divided them came in the form of appeals from foreign Churches. A foreign Church in any trouble or perplexity naturally appealed to its greater neighbors for help. Carthage and Rome were both, and equally, appealed to by

the clergy and laity of Legio and Emerita, now Leon and Merida, in Spain. Their former bishops, Basilides and Martial, had both lapsed in a former persecution, had been deposed, and even excommunicated. They had accepted their sentences, and new bishops had been elected and consecrated in their places. Of late they had roused themselves from their dejection, had claimed their old positions, and Basilides at any rate had made a journey to Rome, and there made such representations that Stephen had admitted him to communion, and sent to the Spanish Churches a direction, request, counsel, —we know not what,—that Basilides and Martial be in all respects restored. This subject coming before Cyprian's fifth Council of Carthage, in September, 254, the thirty-seven bishops joined in a letter (lxvii.) in which they assure the Spanish Churches that they ought not to give way for a moment. Sabinus had been elected bishop of Legio in a perfectly regular way, "so that by the suffrage of the whole brotherhood, and by the sentence of the bishops who had assembled in their presence, and of those who had written to you concerning him, the episcopate was conferred upon him, and hands were imposed on him, in the place of Basilides." "Nor can it rescind an ordination rightly perfected," so the African bishops go on to say, "that Basilides . . . went to Rome, and deceived Stephen, our colleague, placed at a distance, and ignorant of what had been done and of the truth, into canvassing that he might be replaced unjustly in the episcopate from which he had been righteously deposed."

In short, the Spanish Churches are urged to disregard entirely the opinions, wishes, decisions of the Roman See.

From Gaul comes in another complaint. Marcian, bishop of Arles, is a Novatianist. He not only refuses the "peace" to penitents, in cruel disregard of the general agreement of the Churches, but he acknowledges Novatian as rightful bishop of Rome. The neighboring bishops in Gaul consider this a scandal, and ask Cyprian for advice and help. Hence we have a letter (lxvi.) from Cyprian to Stephen, telling the new bishop of Rome what he ought to do in the matter. The "pope of Carthage" fairly orders his Roman brother to rouse himself from negligence and play his proper part. "It is our duty," says the letter, putting Carthage quite on a level with Rome in the matter, "It is our duty to consider this affair, and to remedy it," and again, "It is for this end, dearest brother, that the body of the bishops is great and generously multiplied,[1] knit fast with glue of mutual concord and bond of unity, that so, should any of our college attempt the forming of a heresy, the rending and wasting of Christ's flock, the rest may come to the rescue." Cyprian holds that the backing up of a right discipline in Gaul is a duty laid upon all neighboring bishops, and he urges the Roman bishop to be their spokesman, not because he is any more than any other bishop, but because he is bishop of the nearest great

[1] *Magnum et copiosum.*" Not only is the number absolutely large, but the Church's needs are liberally and largely met. Cyprian believed in small dioceses and much episcopal supervision.

Church. Very properly the bishops of Gaul were not willing to depose Marcian, and so precipitate a great schism, until they could be sure that the neighboring Churches would back them up. And among these the Church of the great Roman city would be the most important of all. "Wherefore," says Cyprian, "it behooves you to write a very full letter to our fellow-bishops established in Gaul, that they no longer suffer Marcian, forward and proud, an enemy both to the way of God and to the salvation of our brethren, to insult over our college because he seemeth as yet not to be excommunicated by us. . . . Let letters be addressed by you to the Province, and to the people dwelling at Arles, in accordance with which (on Marcian's excommunication) another may be substituted in his room."[1] We must observe that it is the bishops in Gaul who are to declare Marcian excommunicated. Rome and Carthage only promise to stand by them and accept their action as just. Secondly, it is the people residing at Arles who are to elect a new bishop in Marcian's place, when the bishops of the province *have* excommunicated him. All that the Roman bishop has to do with it is to send to all parties concerned friendly letters urging them to do their duty, just exactly as Cyprian is now writing his "very full letter" to urge Stephen himself. This is the only explana-

[1] *Literæ, quibus, abstento Marciano, alius in loco ejus substituatur*, is Cyprian's Latin. The translation "letters whereby Marcian being excommunicated, another may," etc., makes it look altogether too much as if the bishop of Rome could do all these things himself. Cyprian never would have acknowledged for a moment that the bishop of Rome could remove a bishop of Arles, or put a new bishop into that see when vacated.

tion of Cyprian's letter to Stephen which allows it to be consistent with Cyprian's views as elsewhere expressed.

Whether Stephen took the advice offered him from Carthage, whether the bishops of Gaul ever proceeded against Marcian, we are not informed. There came up in the following year, 255, a cause of quarrel which swallowed up all other interests for a time, the controversy about Re-baptism.

The rise of a really bad movement may be a good symptom in the Church's life. It was so here. The Churches of North Africa had been greatly stimulated of late years. The general conscience was growing more quick and tender. There was a deepening desire to please the Lord Jesus Christ, a deepening horror of the sin of administering carelessly His trusts. Then some anxious souls raised anew a question which had before disturbed the Church in Africa. Could a Christian separated by schism from Christ's Body administer a saving baptism into that Body? "Could profane waters bless?" If persons came now to the Catholic Church who had been baptized by Novatianists, were they to be regarded as baptized persons, members already of Christ and of His Church, brought in through the one door of entrance? or was it to be held that such had never been baptized at all, and that all the form must be gone through again, because in schismatic hands it was a *mere* form, with no corresponding power? Modern writers say that Cyprian, giving the answer that he did, too much lost sight of the fact that Christ is the true Bap-

tizer. Cyprian himself would have replied to such a criticism, "Christ is indeed the Baptizer, but He will not stand to bless where they who act in His Name are wilfully separated from His order. There is no magic in the baptismal water, nor in the baptismal words. He who leaves the Church leaves Christ, and he who leaves Jesus Christ, leaves all the possibility of administering heavenly powers." That was Cyprian's decision. That which heretics and schismatics offered as baptism was no baptism, but an empty form. To baptize persons coming from such a form was not a re-baptism. He scorned the word. It was giving them the great reality of which they had had only a delusive, dangerous counterfeit. Such a decision was a sad mistake, but its general adoption all through the North African Church was a symptom, albeit an unhappy one, of a great revival of true earnestness and Christian life.

In Vol. X. of the Oxford Library of the Fathers may be found a valuable note on this matter, appended to Tertullian's *De Baptismo*. Three lines are there stated to have been followed by different parties in the Church. (1) Some allowed everything that was honestly intended to be Christian baptism to stand as such, provided the right matter was used, that is, the actual application of water, and the right form,—that is, our Lord's own form of words, *In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*,—though the minister of the baptism should be a layman, a woman, a schismatic, a heretic, or even an unbaptized person and an unbeliever.

That was the line taken by Stephen of Rome. It is the ruling of the Roman Communion to-day,[1] and of the Holy Orthodox Eastern Church. (2) Another line taken was to disallow the baptism of "heretics" in the strict sense of the word, that is, of all who in baptizing in the Triune Name put a non-Catholic interpretation on the words. Baptism is the seal of a covenant between God and those who come to Him to be added to the number of His people. That covenant includes the acceptance of a revealed faith on man's part. Where the faith is not held, the covenant cannot be made. This idea is embodied in the so-called Apostolical Canons, rules of most uncertain date and origin, but representing probably the mind of some considerable portion of the Church as early as the latter half of the third century. Canon XLVI. reads, "We ordain that any bishop or presbyter who shall admit the baptism or the sacrifice of heretics shall be deposed. *For what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what portion hath a believer with an unbeliever?*" This seems to have been the general view of the Churches of the East in early times. A chorus of testimonies declares it to have been a rule received from the Apostles. (3) The third line, which was now taken up with a burst of zeal in North Africa and in parts of Asia Minor, disallowed the baptism of schismatics as well as heretics. Doubtless they got some support from confusion in the use of the words

[1] Converts to Rome are almost invariably re-baptized, at least conditionally: but it is done under the plea that Protestants are so careless of the "matter" and "form" of the Sacrament that one can never be sure that both were duly employed.

"heresy" and "heretic," which meant only "sect" and "sectarian" in early Church use, but they also argued that one who separated himself from the fellowship of the Church was plainly a heretic in the strict sense as regards the faith concerning the Church.

To the present writer it seems fairly clear that the second view is really a tradition from apostolic times and a rule of safety. One can see how the other rules would easily deviate from it on either side. Where there was a strongly metaphysical tendency, as in the East, and almost every separation from the main body of the Church included also some real departure from the faith, men would come to quote a law that heretical baptism was no baptism, as if it covered the case of any persons who lived outside of the Catholic communion. That seems to have happened in Asia Minor. Where the tendency of men's minds was rather practical than metaphysical, and so schismatical quarrels gave much trouble, but no heresy ever acquired any great popularity, a common practice of acknowledging the validity of baptisms performed outside the Catholic body might lead men to forget that their fathers had ever had a rule disallowing any alien baptisms at all. That seems to have been the course of things at Rome. In Africa, where the question had been once raised in the days of Agrippinus, second bishop of Carthage before Cyprian, it would seem as if a native tendency to narrow intensities had had as much as anything to do with the exclusionist decision.

But even in North Africa a general carelessness

had prevailed,—it was that, rather than a generous wisdom,—and now that the question was brought up again, Cyprian adopted the narrow line as a decision of the Church in better days, and threw himself into the defense of it with all possible intensity. A council of thirty-two bishops, Cyprian's fifth council, assembled at Carthage in 255, adopted a letter drafted by Cyprian as an answer to a request for advice received from eighteen bishops in Numidia. In the following spring there was another council of seventy-one bishops, representing both Africa and Numidia. These confirmed the previous decision, and adopted a form of letter to be sent to Stephen at Rome, calling his attention to the conclusions reached among them and asking his coöperation. With this letter were enclosed copies of the answer of the preceding council to the Numidian enquiry, and of a letter of Cyprian to Quintus, a bishop in Mauretania. A committee of bishops went to Rome to confer with Stephen face to face, and it must have been by their hands that these communications were conveyed.

Did they know already what Stephen's opinions were? It is altogether probable. And Stephen, on his side, had already heard of the outrageous innovation on old Church policies which his colleague of Carthage was urging so powerfully. There were bishops in Africa who took the opposite side from Cyprian, and would not come to his councils to be outvoted, and probably they had been prompt to tell their story to their sympathizing Roman brother. But the bishops from Carthage were quite unprepared for the reception which awaited them beyond

the sea. The bishop of the sister Church absolutely refused to receive them. He would grant them no interview, public or private. He directed the Roman Christians to show them no hospitality, no courtesy. He sent, indeed, a letter in answer to that of the Carthaginian council, but it was in what men have learned to consider a truly Roman manner, vouchsafing little argument, magnifying the chair of Peter, and actually denouncing holy Cyprian as "a false Christ, a false Apostle, and a deceitful worker." He proceeded further to send a communication to the bishops of Eastern Asia Minor, who had for some time adopted the rule of indiscriminate re-baptism, declaring his intention not to hold communion any further with Churches in which this rule was kept.

Such a threat was a challenge to the whole Catholic Church to assert what were held to be true principles of order, and the challenge was promptly met. Outside of Rome, the three chief bishops of that time were Firmilian of the Cappadocian Cæsarea, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Cyprian of Carthage. Each one of them took a decided stand against this Roman aggression. Firmilian addressed to Cyprian a letter still preserved to us in the collection of Cyprian's correspondence (lxxiv.), in which he echoes Cyprian's arguments at great length, and then turns upon Stephen in a spirit of independence, to say the least. "Of none more than of you," so the bishop of Cæsarea addresses Stephen,—"Of none more than of you does Divine Scripture say, *A wrathful man stirreth up strifes, and a furious man heapeth up sins.* For what

strifes and dissensions have you stirred up throughout the Churches of the whole world. Moreover, how great sin have you heaped up for yourself, when you cut yourself off from so many flocks. For it is yourself that you have cut off. Do not deceive yourself, since he is really the schismatic who has made himself an apostate from the communion of ecclesiastical unity. For while you think that all may be excommunicated by you, you have excommunicated yourself alone from all."

"It is yourself that you have cut off." "You have excommunicated yourself alone." St. Firmilian's words show that he regarded Stephen's threat as having been carried into execution, and the communion of Rome with Cæsarea and with Carthage as already actually suspended; but they show also that Asia Minor cares no whit for such a condemnation, save to mourn the fall from grace and peace of the furious "bishop of other men's affairs"[1] who pronounced it.

Dionysius of Alexandria, broad-minded and wise and gentle, occupies a different position. He tries to act as a peacemaker, and writes repeated letters to Rome, endeavoring to heal the strife. We hear of five such letters of Dionysius, all addressed to Rome, as if there lay the whole cause of trouble. There was no occasion for appealing to Firmilian or to Cyprian, for they had done no wrong and threatened none. One letter to Stephen, two to his successor Xystus, one each to two Roman presbyters,

[1] This is the real meaning of the phrase rendered *busybody in other men's matters* in 1 St. Peter iv. 15.

one a Dionysius, who afterward became bishop in his turn, show how important the Alexandrian bishop felt it to be to save the Roman Church from a separation without just ground. Just because Dionysius was trying to harmonize men who differed irreconcilably in opinion, he seems to have kept back the expression of his own views. He was certainly not an extremist. St. Basil in the next century reports of him with surprise that he allowed the baptism of Montanists. Probably he did not consider the Montanists heretical, whereas in St. Basil's time they were held to be so unquestionably. We may think of him as holding what we have suggested to be probably the Church's original tradition, accepting the baptism ministered by persons of orthodox faith, and rejecting that of others. Yet again he tells Xystus how an aged member of the Church came with tears to say that he had discovered his baptism to have been utterly heretical, and how he (Dionysius) had urged upon this old Christian that his honest communions these many years past could not have left him without life and grace, and on that ground he would not now baptize him. (*Eusebius* vii. 9.) Dionysius was of a different tone from Cyprian. But in his letters he refers to the fact that Cyprian's opinion is no new thing, large assemblies of bishops in former days both in Africa and Asia Minor have laid down the rule of re-baptism. Then without stating his own opinion he says simply, "To overturn their counsels, and throw them into strife and confusion, I cannot endure" (*Eusebius* vii. 7). Dionysius stands chiefly for the right of every nat-

ural division of the Church to make its own rules, right or wrong, and still to enjoy the fellowship of all other natural divisions, no matter how differently they may regard the same questions, and no matter how concerning those questions may be.

And strange as it may seem, this golden rule of Dionysius is quite as much the rule of Cyprian also. His answer to Stephen's arrogance was given finally and fully in his seventh Council of Carthage, in September, 256. Eighty-seven bishops were assembled from Africa, Numidia, and (a few) from distant Mauretania. The roll was called, and every one of them rose in his place, and gave his opinion—we can read the speeches preserved still, in an appendix to the Cyprianic letters—in favor of the policy which the Roman bishop had resolved to meet with excommunication. Yet little as they heeded the attempt of a foreign bishop to limit their freedom, just as little would they allow themselves to interfere with liberty in their turn. These are the words of Cyprian himself in opening the proceedings of the council: "Our present business is to state individually our views of the particular subject before us, judging no one, nor removing from his rights of communion any who may hold different views from ourselves. For there is no one of us who constitutes himself a bishop of bishops, or pushes his colleagues with a tyrannous terror to the necessity of compliance, since every bishop, according to the scope of the liberty and office which belongs to him, has his decision in his own hands, and can no more be judged by another than he can himself judge his neighbor, but we await

one and all the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who one and alone has the power both to prefer us in the governing of His Church, and to judge our conduct therein."

It is hard for us to realize this attitude of Cyprian's. We are accustomed for centuries past to the idea that if two Christians differ gravely about something which is to each a matter of conscience, then of course they cannot go on together in the same Church. Cyprian felt so strongly about this matter of schismatic baptism that he called those bishops who differed from him "favorers of Anti-Christ," and "betrayers of the Church," and yet he maintained their right and responsibility to judge for themselves. Even if it were a case of recognizing as baptism what Cyprian believed intensely to be no baptism, he was ready to live in fullest fellowship in one great Catholic organism with Stephen of Rome, or with any African bishop that was on Stephen's side. Their mistake, he thought, was awful, but that kind of mistake was for the Lord alone to judge. St. Augustine describes Cyprian's theory of Church order in a golden phrase which is almost untranslatable,—*Salvo jure communionis diversa sentire.* In double the number of words, and so with but half the strength and splendor, we may read it as "Difference of opinion to be without prejudice to Christian Union."

The after history of this great quarrel may be soon told. Persecution took men's attention from the subject for a while. The deaths of Cyprian and Firmilian left their view with no great man to

champion it. The Churches grew more and more away from it. The great Council of Nicæa is found ordering in two of its Canons (XIX. and VIII.) the baptism of heretical Paulianists and the reception without a new baptism of converts from the *Cathari* (Puritans), the Oriental name for Novatian's following. This is the middle course between the Roman rule and the African. Within a hundred years from Cyprian's councils, another Council of Carthage adopts for Africa the Roman rule itself, and what Cyprian had regarded as his chief work for the Church was all turned to naught. As we leave the subject, it is worth while to think of what our own Jeremy Taylor wrote in his "Liberty of Prophesying,"—"St. Cyprian did right in a wrong cause, and Stephen did ill in a good cause. As far then as piety and charity is to be preferred before a true opinion, so far is Cyprian's practice a better precedent for us, and as an example of primitive sanctity, than the zeal and indiscretion of Stephen. St. Cyprian had not learned to forbid to any one a liberty of prophesying or interpretation, if he transgressed not the foundation of the faith and the creed of the Apostles." It may be added that two more treatises, written by Cyprian in this time of conflict, *On the Excellency of Patience*, and *On Envy and Jealousy*, bring before us the exercises of a saintly soul, trying to school itself to live Christianly in the midst of strife.

The strife was not for long. So far as it went to the extreme of schism, it had depended on the temper of Stephen, and it fell with his death, August

2, 257. On the last day of the same month Xystus, second Roman bishop of the name, was consecrated in his place, and the old brotherly relations between Rome and Carthage seem to have been resumed at once with simple naturalness. War without was helping peace within. Even before Stephen's death the first of Valerian's persecuting edicts had gone forth, and on the day before Xystus was made bishop at Rome, Cyprian was called before the proconsul at Carthage to receive sentence of banishment.

The place of his exile was the little town of Curubis, about fifty miles from Carthage. He reached the place on September 14,—the date is worth bearing in mind for a moment—and that night he had a dream. He seemed to be standing again before the proconsul, who asked no questions, but sat and wrote in silence, as if preparing a sentence to be pronounced. Behind the official stood a young man, a stranger, who signed to Cyprian with expressive gestures that he was to die by beheading. Cyprian began to pour forth entreaties for delay, he told his friends, begging for respite at least "until to-morrow," that he might arrange his affairs. The proconsul made no answer, but he took his tablets and wrote again, and the youth behind his chair made signs that the request was granted. Then in the reaction from overwhelming terror he awoke.

The dream illustrates a side of Cyprian's character which has not been dwelt upon here, but must not go unmentioned. He lived in an atmosphere of special providences. Dreams and visions came often

to him. He was always expecting special interpositions of divine power to warn and teach. Consequently he sometimes found such where God had not put any. Once at least he thought he had a heavenly warning of a great persecution, and the persecution did not come. So too, when he tells us of an apostate who tried to return to communion without acknowledging his fault and bearing the punishment of it, and who coming to the Altar to receive the Lord's Body, saw the hallowed Bread take fire, and turn to a cinder in his blistered hand, or when he describes the case of a baptized infant brought to have its lips moistened with wine from the Eucharistic cup, who resisted with struggles and sobs, and when forced to receive, with vomiting, so bringing the terrified nurse to confess that she had carried the child to a heathen sacrifice, and sprinkled incense from its fingers, we look impatiently for some explanation that will account for his being so deceived. And yet again there are features of Cyprian's career which suggest that perhaps he really did have signs from heaven beyond what common men receive. There are many curious parallels between Cyprian and a saintly man and martyr of the seventeenth century, the much maligned Archbishop Laud, whose historians have done him a more deadly wrong than his murderers. In nothing is the parallel closer than in the way in which both men were always seeing messages of God in the conditions of their daily life. Most of us could not be warned of anything by a sparrow's fall, not because we think it unworthy of God to send us messages,

but because in our heart of hearts we do not believe that God takes order concerning sparrows. Men of faith, like Cyprian and Laud, find in everything a pointing of God's finger. No wonder that they are quick to imagine sometimes that it is making some sign for them to read. So from henceforth Cyprian regarded himself as a condemned man having a short reprieve in which to prepare to die. "To-morrow" became a sort of by-word in his circle of intimate friends. It stood for that unknown day when he should witness for Christ according to his dream.

Yet winter went by, and spring, and summer was come again, before there came a second rescript from Valerian urging the persecution to a higher severity. Swift messengers brought to Cyprian the news of this sharper threatening, and of how Xystus of Rome had just now, on August 6th, been seized in an underground chapel, and brought before the magistrate, and shortly taken back to the place of forbidden assembly and beheaded there, the better to strike terror into all his flock. At nearly the same time came a summons from the new proconsul to appear before him at Carthage. Cyprian went, supposing that his hour was come, but with no such terrors as in his dream. The proconsul was found too ill to conduct his trial, and he was remanded to his own gardens on "the hill." Friends, both Christian and heathen, urged him to flight. He felt no call to save his life, and said so. Yet he might have saved it. After a few days the proconsul, now at Utica, summoned Cyprian to attend him there, and lo! no Cyprian was to be found. He had had infor-

mation of the summons, and he would not die at Utica. The place for a bishop to witness for Christ was among his own people. A few days more, and the proconsul was back in Carthage. Then Cyprian was seen openly on his estate again, only waiting for the officers who should be charged with his arrest.

They came, and carried their prisoner before the proconsul. Once more he was ill, and had to remand the prisoner, to be brought before him the next day. The bishop spent that night, the night of September 13th, in the house of one of the two centurions who had arrested him, and was allowed to receive his friends freely. They could not but note how the "morrow" so long looked for was defined for them. The "next day" of the vision was proved to be the next annual return of September 14th itself, the day of the arrival at Curubis and of the dream.

The proconsul was staying at a country seat just out of Carthage, the Villa of Sextus. Thither Cyprian was led on the "morrow," a great crowd following. Indeed, it was said that the whole Church of Carthage had kept vigil in the streets round the place of their bishop's lodging through the night.[1] The trial was of the briefest. There was the usual formal offer of an opportunity to sacrifice, a word of kindly appeal to this respected citizen to spare his own life, a firm refusal in shortest phrase. Then the proconsul makes a little speech about the grav-

[1] With characteristic thoughtfulness Cyprian had sent out to ask that special care might be taken of unprotected girls, who might be found in this enthusiastic throng.

ity of this offence against the imperial laws. Then the tablet is brought forward, and the sentence read, —"It is our pleasure that Thascius Cyprianus be executed with the sword." And Cyprian responded, "Thanks be to God."

In the grounds of the Villa was a piece of grass land surrounded by steep wooded slopes. There the condemned man was led. The crowd filled this natural amphitheatre to repletion, and some even climbed the trees to get a better view of the final scene. If there were many heathen present who regarded the prisoner as a foe of the gods, there were many Christians also, and some of these strewed handkerchiefs and napkins at his feet, hoping to have them back made precious with stains of martyr-blood. The bishop removed his cloak, and knelt, and prayed. Then he rose, and would have spoken to the people, but no words came. He had expected confidently some great inspiration at this time, some last words of surpassing value. It is a great proof of his faithful waiting upon God, that he, so rich in thought, so fluent in expression, could so suppress himself as to receive that strange providence. God had no word for him to say.

Meanwhile the executioner had been delayed. When he appeared, Cyprian always generous with money, and withal somewhat of a *grand seigneur*, ordered twenty-five gold pieces to be given to him (about £15 or $75, but with vastly more purchasing-power), with the customary request that he perform his office quickly, with no bungling strokes. Then the bishop covered his eyes with a handkerchief and

had it tied behind his head by two friends, Julians both, a presbyter and a sub-deacon. Then he was ready to die, yet for a moment the stroke came not. The executioner, moved we know not how, faltered with a trembling hand. The centurion in command of the escort saw that he was unable to perform his office, and stepping forward himself, swept the head from the shoulders with one mighty blow. So was the greatest light of the Western Church put out. So was the Kingdom of Heaven opened to one who took it with a splendid and a Christlike force.

That night the Christians of Carthage kept vigil once again. They filled the roads leading into the city, and with wax lights and torches, with prayer and with great triumph, they carried the body of their martyr to the burying, the first martyr-bishop, it seems strange to think, that the province of Africa had known. A hero both to the few and to the many, Cyprian combined in himself such greatnesses as appeal to scholars, and the excellences which make a man the hero of the crowd as well. His fame became a popular possession, a popular treasure. Even the sailors traversing the Mediterranean came soon to know their September gales as "Cyprian's breeze." It is a higher distinction that Cyprian is the only Western saint with whom the Eastern Calendars are familiar. His crowning glory is that wherever the service-books of the Roman Church are in use, he is commemorated by name in the Canon of the Mass. The prayer "*Communicantes et venerantes*" contains the names of the Blessed Virgin Mother, the Eleven Apostles and St. Paul, the three first bishops of

Rome, two later Roman bishops, and but seven others. Of those seven the excommunicated Cyprian is one, his name standing side by side with that of Cornelius, as they had stood together against the madness of the Puritan Novatian. The Roman Church admitted Cyprian to an honor never granted to her own Stephen. Nay, she kept the "birthday" of Cyprian in faithful remembrance, and could do no better for Cornelius than in after time to join his memory with Cyprian's on the same day.[1]

Cyprian was preëminently an imperial soul, one born to command and guide and sway men in large ways. It is interesting to note that five hundred and fifty years after his death two great, imperial men were strangely united in honoring him. Haroun al Raschid, the glorious ruler of the Mahometan East, gave the saint's body to Charlemagne, newly established as Emperor of the Christian West. The venerable relics lay for a while at Arles, and for another period at Lyons. In 876 Charles the Bald built the Church and Monastery of St. Cornelius at Compiègne, forty-five miles northeast of Paris, to receive the relics of St. Cornelius, which had been given him as a coronation gift the year before. With these the

[1] A feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, being assigned to September 14, after a while overshadowed the commemoration of Cyprian and Cornelius so much that for their honor a new day is found in modern Roman Calendars, September 16. At the Reformation in England, whether by accident or by design, St. Cyprian's commemoration was assigned to September 26, which had been the day of a highly legendary Cyprian of Antioch, supposed to be a converted magician, who is much cofounded with Cyprian of Carthage in legend, and is the hero of the Spanish Calderon's famous play, *El Magico Prodigioso*, which is again the source of Dean Milman's *Martyr of Antioch*.

body of Cyprian was laid down for its final rest. The Roman and the Carthaginian, venerated together in the Liturgy, commemorated together in the Calendar, laid side by side in their place of burial, emphasize the great lesson of Cyprian's life. If it had been granted to the martyr to write with his own life-blood a rubric on the white page of the Church's roll of the faithful, it would surely have been this,—"Difference of opinion shall be without prejudice to Christian Union." So he would have written in that rosy hue which is from of old the Church's symbol of the self-sacrifice of martyrs, and of the flame of Divine Love, and of the operation of the Holy Ghost:

SALVO JURE COMMUNIONIS DIVERSA SENTIRE.

CHAPTER XII.

THE FORTY YEARS' REST, AND THE TENTH WAVE.

ROM the death of Macrian, 263, to the nineteenth year of Diocletian, 303, the Church had rest. Quietness is near to dulness. There are no great men comparable with Origen or with Cyprian in our remaining way. Yet there are not lacking among those who overlived the two heroes of the third century some men notable for character and power, nor did such fail to grow up after them. Our remaining story down to the renewal of persecution may best be told in the form of brief notices of certain eminent men.

First comes Dionysius of Alexandria, early known as "the Great." He has been mentioned already as pupil and successor of Origen. He was also a life-long friend of his old teacher, and sent him a letter of encouragement when the persecution of Decius fell upon him. Made head of the Catechetical School in 232, and bishop in 247, as successor in each case to Heraclas, Dionysius died in peace at a great age in 265, but not without having borne his share of troubled times. Ordered into exile under Decius, and rescued from his guards by a bold night-attack of marauders who proved to be Christian friends, he lived in hiding till that storm blew over. Exiled

again under Valerian, he returned to Alexandria to meet the horrors of the plague. Always he seems to have been the same strong character, gentle, calm, wise, and quietly active. In one respect he was like Cyprian. He was an extraordinarily diligent letter-writer. Whatever was going on in the Church, troubles about the treatment of the lapsed and about Novatian, troubles about rebaptism, difficulties concerning doctrine in any line, the bishop of Alexandria was always writing here and there, writing effectively too, and making himself felt in the whole world-wide development of the Church. Even distant Armenia was reached by his correspondence, extending thus beyond the imperial bounds. There are just two points of his activity that call for special notice.

(1) He opposed himself earnestly to *Chiliasm*. We have seen (p. 277) how in Irenæus the literal interpretation of Rev. xx. as implying a bodily resurrection of the Church, an interval of a thousand years (a *Millennium*), and then a bodily resurrection of the remaining dead, was maintained as the general view of Christians. Grosser minds had made the conception grosser. Spiritual minds had then reacted from the conception more and more. In that point the Church had changed its theology profoundly, and Dionysius is the foremost representative of the change. He has left on record the story of a visit which he made to an Egyptian district, Arsinoë, where Chiliasm had still a stronghold. Quarrels, rising to schisms, had taken place, and Dionysius went to be a healer. A book against Allegorists by

a deceased bishop, Nepos, was regarded by the old-fashioned as simply unanswerable. Dionysius gathered the clergy and teachers, and all who cared to come, and for three days examined the arguments with them from morning to night. The memory of Nepos was treated with reverent respect. "And we abstained from defending in every manner and contentiously the opinions which we had once held, unless they appeared to be correct. Nor did we evade objections, but we endeavored as far as possible to confirm the things which lay before us, and if the reason given satisfied us, we were not ashamed to change our opinions, and agree with others; but on the contrary, conscientiously and sincerely, and with hearts laid open before God, we accepted whatever was established by the proofs and teachings of the Holy Scriptures." The result of this conference was that the chief leader of the Chiliasts was brought entirely over to the bishop's side, and the people generally followed after. What matters it which opinion was the right opinion, and whether Origen's allegorism had illuminated or obscured the Scripture? Controversy conducted in such a temper is in any case a triumph of Christ.

(2) Dionysius was a leading opponent of what was known as Sabellianism (p. 254), and like other opponents of that heresy he dwelt so much upon the distinctions between Father and Son, and upon the "subordination" of the Son, as to be charged in Arian days with having had Arian meanings. The great Athanasius, singularly subtle and also singularly broad-minded, is a sufficient witness to us that the

accusation was unjust. But it is noteworthy that Dionysius, bishop of Rome, 259–269, was so disturbed by some of his namesake's utterances that he wrote to him to ask for explanations. Explanations were given by the kindly old scholar in such wise as to be perfectly satisfactory. It seems to have been the first appearance of a difficulty of understanding between Greeks and Latins, which gave much trouble in after times. A Greek word *Hypostasis* and a Latin word *Substantia* had the same natural meaning, "that which underlies," or more literally, "that which stands under" something else. The Latin theologians took their word *Substantia* to express the essential Being of God, that which underlies every Divine manifestation. The Greek theologians took their word *Hypostasis* to express the idea of the Person who stands behind all action and is responsible for it. The Latins rightly insisted that there could be but one *Substantia* in the Godhead, and the Greeks as rightly insisted that there must be three *Hypostases* in the Godhead. At first look it seemed as if Latin word and Greek word had, or at any rate ought to have, the same meaning, and as if Latins and Greeks were contradicting one another.[1] It took patience and good-will to disentangle such a snarl, and because men are apt to have clashing theories as to what words *ought* to mean in other men's mouths, the difficulty had to come up again in the next age. But in the third century, at any rate, Dionysius had here another triumph of that patience and good

[1] The difficulty was greater because some Greeks *had* used *Hypostasis* for "Substance," and *Ousia* for "Person."

temper which are his best title to the name of "Great."

Dionysius administered well one of the oldest and strongest Churches in Christendom. Gregory of Neo-Cæsarea in Pontus illustrates the life of the missionary-bishop, who has to build up everything from new foundations. Theodorus—such was his original name—and his brother Athenodorus were sons of a heathen family in a heathen land. Their Pontus was a strip of country lying along the south shore of the Black Sea at its eastern end, a region remote from the great centres of Roman civilization, and only in Nero's time incorporated into the Empire. The two youths were sent to Palestine to study law, and we have heard (p. 340) Theodore's account of their feeling when a good providence made them hearers of Origen. All thought of law-study was laid aside. Both gave themselves wholly to philosophy and theology, and to whatever might advance them in the school of Christ. Five years of study under Origen led up to the young men's baptism, when Theodorus took the new name of Gregorius (Vigilant), and then after the new-made Gregory had delivered a panegyric oration, still preserved to us, on his teacher's excellent methods and marvellous powers, the brothers returned to Pontus, mourning as Adam must have mourned for Eden. For Origen, says the Oration, "was truly a Paradise to us, after the similitude of the Paradise of God."

These Christians of splendid endowment, being now called to live in a heathen city, must be missionaries. That was obvious. But there was no

Church without a bishop in third century thought. Gregory must be a bishop, therefore, too. At first he absolutely refused, but the bishop of the nearest Christian centre, Amasea, came to him after a while with the startling assurance that he (Phædimus) had both elected him to be bishop and also consecrated him with prayer, while separated from him by a three days' journey. Gregory submitted then to receive the ordinary forms of consecration, and entered (probably about 240) on his work. He found but seventeen Christians in Neo-Cæsarea. When he died, between 264 and 269, he mourned that there were seventeen heathens left still unconverted in his care. Various cities of Pontus were now supplied with Christian bishops, his brother Athenodore being one. Gregory had had a marvellous success.

So marvellous was it that it won for him the name of *Thaumaturgus* (Wonder-worker), and after the name, if one may guess at the course of things, grew up such a series of tales of miracle as had never followed the work of a missionary apostle before. Not only did he heal the sick and cast out devils. He turned the current of a river by planting his staff in its bed, and lo! the staff became a tree, which remained a monument of the marvel. He found two brothers quarrelling bitterly over the possession of a lake, which formed part of their patrimony. The saint prayed for the removal of their temptation, and the lake became dry land. He slept, one night, in a heathen temple, the seat of a noted oracle. From that night the oracle was dumb, till Gregory, hearing bitter complaints from the temple's

guardians, gave them a written paper. The words were,—"Gregory to Satan: Enter." The evil spirit then resumed his old power. In the sequel the priest of the temple became a devoted Christian, and was Gregory's successor as bishop. Miracles of destruction were not wanting. Thus a beggar pretended to be dead, while his companion asked for alms to bury him. Gregory threw his cloak over the pretended corpse, and passed on. Beneath the cloak was found a corpse in very truth.

We may be thankful that none of these stories are given by Eusebius fifty years after Gregory's death. He had not heard them, or he did not believe them. But fifty years later still, so great a man as Gregory of Nyssa tells them for facts, as he and his greater brother Basil had heard them from their grandmother, who lived hard by Neo-Cæsarea. Certain "Canons" left by Gregory in a letter to another bishop in Pontus show too plainly that his wholesale conversion of that people had been but a half-conversion after all. It was the fate of the profound philosopher to draw after him a superstitious people who threw themselves into the following of the man much faster than they could possibly assimilate the teaching. We must regret the imperfect Christianity, the crass superstition. We have no right to leave without thankful recognition, the fact that the note which it sounds is a new note in our history. The story of Narcissus of Jerusalem gave us just a foretaste of the temper that delights in false marvels. Yet that was not prevailingly the temper of the Post-Apostolic Age.

It is worthy of note that among the writings which may be ascribed with some confidence to Gregory is a form of Creed, which is said to be the best statement of the Nicene doctrine produced in the Ante-Nicene Age. Considering Gregory's singular devotion to Origen, who again addresses Gregory in an extant letter as "My most excellent lord and venerable son," this Creed preserved in the archives of Neo-Cæsarea may be taken as a testimony to Origen's penetrating wisdom of orthodox thought.

The third place in our gallery of portraits must be given to another contemporary of Cyprian, reserved to do his greatest work after Cyprian was gone, the great Cappadocian, Firmilian. Like Cornelius of Rome and Dionysius of Alexandria, he was of noble birth. In the "Acts" of a martyr, Capitolina, who suffered in the persecution under Valerian, it is told how the magistrate implored her to save her honored family name from the disgrace of a public execution. "The greatest distinction of our family," she answered, "is the fact that Firmilian belongs to it. . . . Him will I follow, after his example I fearlessly confess that Jesus Christ is King of kings." He was "distinguished" as a bishop in the view of Eusebius as early as the year 231. Dionysius of Alexandria names him in a list of bishops which he limits expressly to "the more noteworthy." After the death of Dionysius, Eusebius puts Firmilian first in his list of eminent men. We have already seen him taking a leading part in inviting bishops to meet at Antioch to keep Fabius from recognizing Novatian.

We know that he represented the bishops of Asia Minor in correspondence with Cyprian. He now stands forward as champion of the Church's discipline against Paul of Samosata, bishop of the great city of Antioch.

This Paul is a strange and puzzling character. He seems to have been a man without religion and without conscience, shrewd, clever, ambitious, who discovered that for him the easiest way from poverty to power was through the membership and the ministry of the Christian Church. If that was his idea, he succeeded in realizing it. He made himself a prime favorite with Zenobia, the Jewess Queen of Palmyra, and through her patronage was so brought forward that he got himself made bishop of Antioch, somewhere between 257 and 260, while he received directly from Zenobia herself an appointment as civil governor of that city in her name, with a salary of some £1,600, or $8,000, in the money of that day. He is charged with overweening pride and conceit, with setting up the state of an Eastern Satrap, with demanding applause like that of a theatre to be given to his preaching, with oppression, insolence, injustice, extortion, with utter carelessness as to appearances that suggested an immoral life, and finally, with using his double power as bishop of the Christians and civil governor of the whole population, to make it a matter of danger and of abject fear for any ordinary man to bring any accusation against him. Yet stories went out from Antioch, and Christian bishops like Firmilian were not to be prevented from doing their duty.

Another sort of charge was made also. Paul had embraced the heresy of Artemon,—it seems indistinguishable from the Monarchianism of Theodotus (p. 252),—and was trying to revise Christianity in such wise as to make it more acceptable to his Jewish patroness and her heathen counsellors. Here was a case to which Cyprian himself would not have applied his rule, *diversa sentire*. This was not an allowable difference of human opinion, but a betrayal of the trust of the Divine Faith. A great meeting of bishops was held at Antioch, Firmilian presiding, Gregory Thaumaturgus and his brother attending from distant Pontus, Helenus from Tarsus, Maximus from Bostra in Arabia, Hymenæus from Jerusalem, mother of Churches, and Theotecnus from Palestinian Cæsarea. These, with many more, considered the charge of heresy in a charitable spirit, ready to believe that they had been misinformed. Paul had subtlety, and he fooled them. He offered plausible explanations. The assembly accepted them gladly and dispersed. In a year or two Firmilian thought it needful to convene another. This time Malchion, an able presbyter of Antioch, had courage and skill enough to bring out the heretic in his true colors. Driven to another shift, Paul promised recantation and amendment. Again the bishops used charity and gave trust. It was soon found to be in vain. A third council was called, perhaps in 268, not later; Firmilian died in Tarsus on the way to it. Helenus of Tarsus presided in his place. The dishonest heretic was deposed and excommunicated, prince though he was, and the council elected and

consecrated in his place Domnus, a grandson, it is observed, of Paul's predecessor, Demetrian. A married clergy was not yet against the mind of the Church.

Three things demand notice here. (1) The election was irregular, because Paul's cruel power over Antioch was such that free election by the people was impossible. The deposed bishop used his civil power to keep the bishop's church and the bishop's house in his possession till Zenobia's power fell before the emperor Aurelian. Then Christians came before him, asking justice. Let their own property be given to their own recognized chief pastor, and not to one who was an outcast from their society. Aurelian recognized the justice of such a claim, but how was he to judge of a question of administration within the Christian society? "Let the property go to him whom the Christian bishops of Rome and Italy recognize as their colleague in this place," was the decision. Most natural and simple and proper, but a little stone added to what came in after years to be a monumental heap.

(2) The bishops sent out a letter addressed to Dionysius of Rome,—he died in December, 268,—to Maximus of Alexandria, and to all other Christian bishops. In it they set forth largely the evil things which they had learned to believe concerning Paul, in spite of their long patience and the difficulty of getting proofs. "While one might call the man to account for this conduct," they say, "if he held the Catholic doctrine, and was numbered with us, since he has scorned the mystery, . . . we think it

unnecessary to demand of him an explanation of these things." In other words, having plain proof of heresy, so that we *must* depose and excommunicate him anyhow, we do not hold it needful to go on and try him on a charge of immorality too, which in the circumstances of Antioch would be very hard to prove by witnesses in detail! It is not quite fair to say that "he might have been even worse than he was in his morals, and yet no decisive steps have been taken against him, had he not deviated from the orthodox faith." "One *might* call the man to account" does not ordinarily imply "One *would not* do it."

(3) This council of eminent bishops at Antioch condemned as heretical the use of a certain word, and that word was *Homo-ousios*, afterward the very watchword of orthodoxy, for which one like Athanasius would be ready to give his life. It is a serious lesson as to the distinction between forms and meanings. Paul had insisted on finding in this word a meaning which all parties agreed was certainly heretical. It being assumed that it carried that meaning, the form was rightly condemned, because it was then a poisonous form. Within sixty years later the same word was found to be a natural vehicle, and the best possible one, for conveying a truth which was before all things precious. The phial which had held poison was then cleansed, and filled with a medicine needed for the healing of the nations. Then the Church, which had condemned it before, gave it to all men, and said, "Drink, and live." The power to distinguish between mere

words and what men mean by them, both to acquit and sometimes to condemn, is a power always needed by the Church of God.

From the heretical prince-bishop and the faithful men who contended against him, we return to the Church's missionary causes. Somewhere about the year 257, Chosroes, ruler of Armenia, was assassinated by Anag, a prince of a rival house. The dying king ordered the execution of his murderer and all his family. Shortly afterward the Persians overran the Armenian kingdom, and annexed it. Out of all this slaughter and overthrow escaped two who were to make a great mark on Armenian history, Tiridates, son of Chosroes, who made his way to Rome, and an infant son of Anag, who was carried by his nurse to Cappadocia, and there baptized under the name of Gregory. Tiridates, in after years, regained his father's kingdom. Gregory became a favored servant of his court. Then came Gregory's refusal to take part in heathen rites, the discovery that he was a son of Chosroes' assassin, then persecution, torture, and years of imprisonment. Then the king fell sick, so the story runs, and was delivered through Gregory's prayers, with the result of his conversion, and the conversion of the whole nation. Certainly there had been Christianity in Armenia before. We have found an Armenian bishop among the correspondents of Dionysius of Alexandria. But the cause had languished, and Gregory the Illuminator, as the Armenian Church calls him, was felt to be practically the Apostle of his nation. He was consecrated as bishop of the

royal city, Valarshabad, by Leontius of Cæsarea, about 302, and changed the name of his see to Etchmiadzin (Descent of the Only-Begotten), in honor of a vision of our Lord which had been vouchsafed him there. Armenia is claimed as the first country which received Christianity so as to make it a national religion. The nation has long since lost its place among the nations, and the Armenians are largely a dispersion, like the Jews. But the Church of Gregory's planting still remains, the most sorely tried Church that lives in Christendom to-day. There may possibly be somewhere a stronger plant of God's planting. There is none, assuredly, that has borne such violence without perishing as the Church of the Armenians. To this day, when their *Catholicos*—the title of their chief bishop—is consecrated, the dead hand of Gregory the Illuminator is laid upon his head. It is an allegory. Amid much deadness and corruption Armenian Christianity has never failed to be a source of power.

But even while Gregory the Armenian was preparing to carry Christ's conquests farther into the Orient, the Orient was launching its last great counter-assault. *Mani*, a Persian, 215–277, was brought up among the Mandæans, the descendants of the early Nazarenes, and so became (p. 181) familiar early with their miserable remnants of Christianity, with Persian Magism or Zoroastrianism, and with Indian Buddhism. Out of all these he concocted a new religion called from his own name Manichæism, which may be described briefly as the last effort of Gnosticism to speak so as to get the world's ear. There was

the old notion that matter was evil, and creation a sin, with an elaborate jargon about the opposition of light and darkness, an immensity of claim as to what the system could do to uplift the human race, a high degree of organization curiously anticipating in some ways the later papacy of the Christian Church, and most important of all perhaps for keeping a great crowd of adherents, a division of its following into two classes, "the elect" and "the auditors," of whom the latter were really admitted to know but little of their own mystery, and so kept constantly looking for great things to be known and done by and by. Any attempt to describe the Manichæan system would be out of place here, but it may be remarked that it was for long a serious foe to Christianity. So great a man as St. Augustine was a Manichæan "hearer" for nine years, before he discovered that he was being fooled with fine, but empty words. Severe persecution from both heathen and Christian powers caused the disappearance of the organization in the West in the seventh century; but in the eleventh a fresh wave of Manichæan influence was poured over southern Europe from Armenian settlements in Bulgaria, and the sects known as Bogomiles, Paulicians, Albigenses, Catharists, are not to be regarded (as they are sometimes) as "Reformers before the Reformation," but as last expiring influences from Mani, "the Maniac," as Eusebius calls him, of the third century.

We come back once more to Egypt, fertile mother of new ideas in the early days. Is there any natural connection of thought between Mani, the inventor of

Manichæism, and Antony, the pioneer of Monasticism? Perhaps there really may be. The ascetic temper, the temper that despises material things, the spirit that thinks that to have flesh is carnal, and to live in the world is worldly, that temper, that spirit, are always working among men. They must have some vent, whether it be in a sect, a monastery, or a total abstinence society. Certainly monasticism was a better vent than Manichæism. Nay, if John Baptist could be divinely called to prepare by years of seclusion in the wilderness for a few months of what men commonly call usefulness, it may be too presumptuous for us of to-day to assume that every one of the multitude of devout persons who in various ages have thought themselves called to live an ascetic and a secluded life, have been utterly and fatuously mistaken. It is strange how ready some students are who have contended earnestly for the independence of the individual soul in its waiting upon God, and have urged that every soul ought to cultivate the habit of listening for an inner voice, to set aside with one impatient sweep of the arm the thousands of testimonies of devout souls that they did wait earnestly upon God, and He did call them manifestly this way. To say that no Christian soul ever had a call from God to live the life of a monk or a nun, is, the present writer ventures to think, a shocking infidelity as to the spiritual experiences of God's children. It is unphilosophical for one who believes in spiritual experience, in God speaking to the heart, at all, to cast away as rubbish and merest self-deception so much of the spiritual experience of the ages.

A truer way to read history would seem to be,—"God makes some men and women so that they can live their best in an ascetic life and a separated life. He has a use for them to serve in the world by coming out of the world. We may not be able to see what it is, any more than we know why a good man is called away by death sometimes, when our wisdom would have kept him here. But God calls them, these sons and daughters, and they hear His voice, and follow it. What are we that we should gainsay them,—and Him?"

Antonius, known to us as St. Antony, or Anthony, was not the first man in Egypt to hear such a call, but he was the first who so received it as to make it echo far and wide. He has been called "the father of asceticism." Justly, because where before the Church had seen an occasional "solitary," Antony's example drew out a multitude, and from henceforth the monastic life became one of the familiar forms of Christian living, as well known, as much recognized, as any other. We know Antony's story from a singularly trustworthy source, the devout, learned, philosophical, clear-headed, sober-judging Athanasius. No better man in Christendom to tell a story truly, without exaggeration or delusion. And he had known the old hermit well, and been, it would seem, from a phrase in the preface to his "Life of Antony," at one time a personal attendant upon him. This, then, is a brief outline of his story. Antony was born of a good family in easy circumstances at Coma in Upper Egypt. His parents died when he was between eighteen and twenty, leaving him with the

care of a sister somewhat younger. Brought up a Christian, he had lived a quiet and dutiful life, but had had no interest in study, no great zeal, apparently, for anything. He had in him the capacity for a magnificent intensity, but it had never been reached and roused. One day in Church he heard the Gospel read, and it was the story of the young man who had great possessions. Antony went out with "Go, sell all that thou hast," ringing in his ears. He parted with his property and gave away the proceeds, only reserving a portion for his sister. Another Gospel sounded the warning "Take no thought for the morrow," and Antony gave up even that provision,—it seems a pity that "*if any provide not for his own*" was not read in the Epistle on the same day,—put his sister in a "house of virgins" near by, and went out to live the life of a hermit. He removed himself farther and farther from the haunts of men. He became so rigid with himself that his only food was bread and water, he did not eat till sun-down, often he fasted absolutely for two days and nights together. It may be said that men gave him fame. It does seem certain that God gave him power. Miracles of healing are ascribed to him, miracles of power against evil spirits, marvels of supernatural knowledge, and it is noteworthy that these wonders are much more like our Lord's miracles than like those ascribed by half-heathen Pontus to Gregory the Thaumaturge. But more than this, the man himself was a power. Bright and cheerful in the midst of his perpetual rigors, meek and modest while beset with flattering admirations,

he held that kind of sway over many hearts which none but the ascetic gains. It is only an Elijah, renouncing all earthly relationships, that can at some supreme crises turn the hearts of the children to the fathers. It is only a John the Baptist, living outside the world, that can get the world's attention at certain times, so as to prepare it for the special Visitation of Jesus Christ. Antony passed his century-mark, and died in 355, when the Christian world was divided between Catholic and Arian. Whether it was reasonable or no, the life of Antony held masses of men to the Catholic side, whom the argument of Athanasius could never reach. Man is a rational being, but most men are not reasoners. Logic wearies them. Self-sacrifice fascinates them. An Antony leaving wealth for voluntary hardness could do more than an Athanasius or a Chrysostom to win "the masses" to Jesus Christ to-day.

Three other persons deserve brief mention here as writers. Methodius, bishop of Patara in Lycia,—he is often quoted as Methodius of Tyre, but that seems to be a mere blunder,—was a voluminous, but not very valuable writer. He is most noteworthy as representing the beginning of the endeavor to break down by argument the influence of Origen, whose writings he antagonized with some bitterness, and as being the first defender of Christian teaching against the attacks of Porphyry, an eminent heathen writer of these days. Arnobius was an eminent teacher of rhetoric in Africa, when the Diocletian persecution broke out. He had been a heathen, and so well known as such that when he offered himself to the

Church at Sicca as a convert, the Christians feared and distrusted him as once the Christians of Jerusalem had feared St. Paul. But the convert proved his honesty of purpose by writing in the midst of that bloody time a long treatise in seven books of *Disputations against the Heathen.* A greater man than this, however, was another African, his sometime pupil, Lactantius, whose noble Latin style has won for him the title of "the Christian Cicero." Invited to open a school of rhetoric in Nicomedia, then the place of the imperial residence, he witnessed with sympathy the horrors of the persecution there, and is supposed to have become a convert at that time like his old teacher. For a time he was plunged into poverty and distress, but when Constantine reached the imperial throne he took knowledge of this Christian rhetorician and made him tutor to his son Crispus. Lactantius wrote ten books of *Divine Institutes*, as an introduction to true religion for heathen inquirers, but his most interesting work to-day is his history, *De Morte Persecutorum*, (*Concerning the Death of Persecutors*). In it he tells the story of the Diocletian persecution, and traces out the miserable fate of all the persons chiefly responsible for it.

It was a common notion among the ancients, no lovers of the sea, that every tenth wave pouring in on an exposed coast was especially awful in its resistless sweep. The last and worst of the great persecutions was felt by the Church to be such a "decuman." The attempt of mystics to make out that the persecutions themselves numbered ten,

which was regarded as in some sense a perfect number, is artificial and idle. The name of "tenth wave" was thoroughly deserved.

In A. D. 303, the Empire was governed by a sort of imperial partnership. Diocletian and Maximian were *Augusti*. Constantius Chlorus and Galerius were joined with them under the lesser title of Cæsars. Maximian administered the affairs of Italy and Africa, while Diocletian, who had set his royal residence in Nicomedia, reserved to himself the Asiatic provinces. Constantius governed Gaul and Britain, and Galerius had the oversight of the provinces of southeastern Europe, from the Adriatic to the Black sea. Meanwhile Christianity had been for forty years a licensed religion, and to many men persecution must have seemed a thing of the past. Christianity was receiving multitudes of converts, Churches were building on every side, and a Christian church was the most conspicuous building in Nicomedia itself. Some of the chief servants of the imperial household were Christians, and Diocletian's own wife and daughter were much suspected of adhering secretly to the new faith. What changed the Emperor's mind profoundly, it is not now possible to tell. The Cæsar Galerius, his son-in-law, was a bitter foe to Christianity, and he spent much of the winter of 302–303 at Nicomedia. Treasonable plots are said to have been discovered among the Christians of the household. Whether there really were such, and whether, if so, they were really counterplots made by some who believed themselves marked for ruin by Galerius, we cannot say. Diocletian

was persuaded that Christianity was a menace to the throne, and resolved upon its extirpation.

After much consultation of oracles and auguries it was resolved to take February 23, the *Terminalia*, the feast of the God of Boundaries, for beginning the process which was to bring Christianity to a termination. That morning the church, which stood over against the palace, was torn down, and the next day an edict was issued for the destruction of every church building in the Empire, and all the sacred books of Christians everywhere, and ordering that every Christian holding public office should lose his rights as a citizen, and that the members of the households of such should be made slaves.[1] The forfeiture of civil rights would seem to have been soon extended to all Christians. At any rate every kind of torture was brought to bear upon them, such as no Roman citizen might suffer without the Emperor's express command. Men were strangled, were drowned, were exposed to wild beasts, were roasted over slow fires, were covered with pitch and set on fire, were scraped with shells till their flesh was torn from their bones, were scourged horribly and rubbed with vinegar and salt. Women were hung by the heel from the tops of pillars, lowered into cauldrons of boiling oil, given over to the more cruel barbarities of brothel-keepers. Eusebius gives many pages to the story, and even so one knows that the historian had touched but the fringe of the

[1] This, and not that all Christians who were not officials should be reduced to slavery, would seem to be the meaning. We here follow Doctor McGiffert (*Eusebius* p. 324,) as against the Dictionary of Christian Biography, Art. *Diocletian.*

subject. One cannot undertake to give any fair idea of the martyrs or even of the tortures of that time.

The severity of the persecution varied, of course, with the mood of the chief ruler in each of the greater districts of the Empire, but Constantius was the only one that cared very much, probably, to hold back. The struggle had gone on for two years, when Diocletian, broken in health, and Maximian were persuaded to abdicate their sovereignty. The Cæsars Constantius and Galerius took their places as *Augusti*. Diocletian would have wished to make Constantine, son of Constantius, and Maxentius, son of Maximian, to be the new Cæsars; but Galerius overruled his weakened will, and secured the appointment of two followers of his own, Maximin and Severus. From this time forward, till Constantine established himself as sole emperor, the Empire was really in a state of civil war. Maximin, as ruler of Syria and Egypt, was a persecutor more horrible than Galerius, and in those regions the persecution lasted ten years, 303–313. Into the kaleidoscopic political changes of the Empire generally we must not enter here. Enough to say that Galerius died miserably in 311, having first proclaimed toleration for the Christians of Asia Minor, and that Constantine, proclaimed an Augustus by his troops on his father's death in 307, found himself on the death of Galerius one of four claimants to the imperial title and power. Constantine and Maxentius battled for the supremacy over the West. Their armies met at the Milvian bridge, a mile from Rome, October 27, 311, and at some time before that

meeting Constantine had a vision. He saw glowing in the sky the monogram ☧, the X being the Greek letter answering to our *ch*, and the P answering to our *r*, so that the figure was a monogram of the name of Christ. Around the monogram in letters of light were the words, "*Hoc vince*," "By this conquer," which later legend enlarged into "*In hoc signo vinces*." The night following Constantine had a dream. Our Lord himself appeared to him, and bade him take the *Labarum*, the familiar standard of his army, with its long pole and transverse arm, already forming to every Christian eye the sign of the cross, from which hung the embroidered banner, and add at the top of the staff the Christian monogram within a crown of gold. Constantine did so,—we give the story as Eusebius gives it, to whom the emperor himself related it in after years, and confirmed the narrative with a solemn oath,—and beneath that standard he advanced to an overwhelming victory. Maxentius, the heathen persecutor, was slain, and Constantine, not yet a Christian, but more than half a believer, was made master of the western world. Whether Constantine could tell the story of his vision, with precise accuracy after fifteen or twenty years might be doubted, but that something happened to him at that time, which seemed to him and others supernatural, is beyond question. The triumphal arch dedicated to him within five years by the Senate and People of Rome described his victory as coming "*instinctu Divinitatis*," "by an inspiration from Deity." That was the feeling of the time.

The triumph of Constantine was thus the triumph

of Christ. Already in 311 Constantine had put forth an edict of toleration. In 313 when Constantine and Licinicus had become lords of the whole Empire, and had agreed to rule it together, they put forth the Edict of Milan, giving to Christians the largest freedom to believe, to worship, to hold property in the Christian name, and it became known that practically the proscribed religion was now enthroned. Then began a period of renewal and of triumph. Churches were built on every side,—Eusebius describes the magnificent structure reared at Tyre, and gives us in full the oration, rather than sermon, which he himself pronounced at its dedication,—fugitives returned to their places, new converts flocked to the standard of the Cross. The age of persecution was really past. The more dangerous trial of prosperity was come.[1]

[1] The story of the Donatist schism, a separation of the Puritan order, belongs to the next Age, but it began in Carthage in 311, ostensibly because the new bishop, Cæcilian, had been consecrated by a bishop that had been a "*traditor*," one who in the persecution had given up copies of the "sacred books" to be burned, but really because Cæcilian had opposed himself to the craze for honoring martyrs and confessors unduly. Oddly enough the charge against Cæcilian's consecrator broke down entirely under strict examination, but the new sect received a number of acknowledged "traditors" into its own ranks.

CHAPTER XIII.

LAST WORDS ON SOME WORKINGS OF THE CHURCH'S MIND IN THE POST-APOSTOLIC AGE.

GREAT deeds, great movements, and noteworthy men have occupied us. It remains to gather up some notes concerning the Church's prevailing thought and habit, which belong to the very centre of its life, but just for that very reason elude the historian's endeavor to fasten them to particular points in the story. Such notes may be grouped under four heads,—Organization, Faith, Theology, Worship.

I. *Organization.* The writer of this book has maintained confidently that the bishop of Ignatian phraseology was an apostle, only of less dignity and prestige than the original Apostles, or St. Paul with his supernatural sending. From a Congregationalist scholar, kind and wise, he has received a most friendly, but naturally an unfavorable criticism of his chapters II., III., and IV., as read in proof-sheets. The present writer cannot agree with his friend in some points,—the time of seeing eye to eye is not yet,—but he is much interested in his friend's suggestion that "the Ignatian bishop is *not* a diocesan bishop (which involves the subordination of several chief local pastors to a non-resident and non-congregational chief), but a congregational pastor."

The writer has not time to ask his friend across the sea whether he would suppose that the Ephesian elders of Acts xx. were in charge of a *single* congregation, or that Ephesus had but one congregation when Ignatius was there, and whether he would consider many bishops or one to be the Ignatian ideal for a city like New York. He supposes that the answer would be,—"A great city might come to have many congregations, though it would be long before this loss of visible unity would be tolerated, but even then they *could* meet as one *for some purposes*, and make themselves felt as one Church, and their bishop was in touch with them, one with them, limited by the practical necessity of getting their consent and coöperation, as the lordly bishop of the later diocese could never be." That seems to be quite true, and worthy of solemn consideration. The present writer can find no trace of government in the sense of *making rules and laws* by any one but a bishop in the Post-Apostolic Church. Neither clergy nor laity appear to him as having ever had more than a consultative voice in such matters. But the bishop, to whom the exclusive power of final decision seems to have been entrusted, was more like a father sitting in his armchair on the family hearth than like a monarch unapproachably enthroned over a kingdom. His authority was always limited (a very practical limitation) by the fact that he must live in daily association with the people for whom he was making his rules.

The tone of Church government in this age was domestic. In the next it was imperial. What made

the difference? Largely, one may think, it was the drawing together of Church and State. Constantine valued the Christian Church as one of the forces that might help to hold the empire firm, and his idea of making the Church strong was to make it imperial, like a kingdom of this world. But largely too the evolution was in progress before Constantine's conversion. Bishops met together for consultation. Bishops agreed on policies. Bishops of adjoining districts formed the habit of meeting in council at fixed times.[1] But even so it seems to have been understood at first that their agreements were *not laws*. A majority vote bound no dissenting minority. (*Cf.* pp. 387, 388.) It is not till after 300 that we find councils of bishops putting their agreements on record under the name of Canons. There are four such —*Eliberis* (Elvira, now Granada, in Spain) with nineteen bishops, about 305; *Arelate* (Arles in Southern France) with thirty-three, assembled by order of Constantine from Gaul, Italy, Sicily, North Africa, and Britain, to consider the Donatist quarrel (p. 446), in 314; *Ancyra* in Galatia with eighteen, in the same year; and *Neo-Cæsarea* in Pontus, a little later. A famous utterance of the great Ecumenical council of Nicæa, which was itself by the tremendous moral force of its decisions a long step in the way toward regarding a council as a legislature, speaks of certain usages, whereby special honor and authority were conceded to the bishop of the chief city of a dis-

[1] Tertullian (*On Fasting* xiii.) refers to such councils held in Greece, as if they were a novelty characteristic as yet of that region. Cyprian seems to have been the man who first made such gatherings customary in the North African Church.

trict. "Let the ancient customs have force," says its Canon VI., "in Egypt, Libya, Pentapolis, so that the bishop of Alexandria have authority over all these provinces, since the like is customary for the bishop of Rome also." Here we find old "customs" just hardening into "canons," and what was once a precedent which it was a grave responsibility to disregard, becoming a law which it would be a sin to break. And still more significant is the close of the canon: "If, however, two or three bishops shall from natural love of contradiction oppose the common suffrage of the rest, it being reasonable, and according to the canon of the Church, then let the choice of the majority prevail." This introduction of majority rule is revolutionary. Some of us who cannot call the primitive bishop a "congregational pastor," can recognize that he was chief pastor of an "independent Church." The primitive Church polity lies somewhere between the extremes of modern Episcopacy and modern Independency.

An interesting illustration of the change in an imperial direction is found in the study of Episcopal elections. The primitive mode of election would seem to have been a choice by the clergy and laity of the diocese, ratified or vetoed by the neighboring bishops. In Cyprian we find traces of another idea. The bishop is to be chosen in the presence of the people who know him, so that they can give or withhold their consent, but the original choice rests with the bishops, and it is the people who have only a veto left. It is manifest that as the bishops developed the habit of governing together by mutual agree-

ment, their power grew also. The whole machinery of Church government gained in strength and lost in flexibility. It would seem to be not impossible that some day a great Church should bring together brethren devoted to Independency and others who, though Episcopalians, do still prefer Episcopacy to Prelacy, and try again the experiment of a really primitive Church Order. Yet for both parties it would be necessary to unlearn the habits of a lifetime, to enter into the polity of Cyprian and Firmilian and Dionysius.

II. *The Catholic Faith.* Under this head there is little more to say. It has been pointed out that the Church felt deeply the distinction between believing a body of doctrine, and subscribing to a form of words, and examples have been given (pp. 262, 291) of differing forms in which eminent men did embody what they held to be the essentials of Christian thought. It may be worth while to note here two questions that have come up in modern times as to what those essentials really included.

(1) The earliest creed-forms, unlike those which have survived to our day under the names of "the Apostles' Creed" and "the Nicene Creed," speak strongly of punishment by everlasting fire, as over against the glory of the everlasting life. Their statements are those of Holy Scripture and unquestionably true, but it has been seriously asked by some,—"Does this Catholic Faith, which you call a Divine Revelation, leave us freedom to believe that there may be deliverance from the everlasting fire, because real repentance and salvation, for every spirit that

God has made?" Origen's case gives a fair answer to that question. He may not have settled such a view as an absolute conviction in his own mind, but he certainly thought much of it as a possibility, and sometimes expressed himself in terms which implied that it was true. He certainly held that a man *could* think it, and be loyal to the Catholic Faith, and he was either not condemned—there is no record of it—for so thinking, or if he was so condemned by any authority, a greater weight of authority upheld him, as regards liberty of belief.

(2) On the other hand, a question has arisen in these days, "Can we hold the Catholic Faith, and yet give up the doctrine of a bodily resurrection?" Here too the earlier creed-forms use language specially trying to some modern ears. For our familiar "resurrection of the body" they more often read "resurrection of the flesh." Yet certainly it was not understood to be revealed that some or any of the identical particles which a man was wearing when he died should be returned to him again in the resurrection. Yet that a man should live a bodily life again, and in a body of flesh and bone, *was* held to be a necessary belief. It has been charged that the Alexandrians, Clement, Origen, even great Athanasius, held to a doctrine of the resurrection which made that great experience to be the rising of a freed spirit to meet God, when loosed from the bondage of corruption at death, and in fact, the escape of the soul from the body, rather than the return of the soul to the forms of bodily existence. The present writer has never seen any passage quoted to show

that any Christian of the Post-Apostolic Age thought that "resurrection of the flesh" could mean escape out of the flesh. He ventures to say that the idea of a "spiritual body" which is not a material body, and a resurrection which is past already, would have been denounced by the whole Catholic Church of the second and third centuries, not as bad theology, but as heresy.

III. *Catholic Theology.* The difference between heresy and bad theology is an important one. It is fair to suppose that among Origen's most devoted friends there were many who would have defended him manfully against the charge of heresy, but thought his Restorationist views fantastic and utterly unfounded. When he first began to put them forth at Alexandria, we do not hear that anybody threatened him with excommunication, but people criticized him and made themselves unpleasant. Outside the bounds of "the faith," there was a very general agreement among Christians in a system of doctrine which was so nearly universal among them that it may fairly be described as "the Catholic Theology." It was neither infallible nor unchangeable. In the second century it was a part of Catholic Theology to believe, as Justin and Irenæus did, in a pre-millennial Advent of our Lord. In the third century it came to be part of Catholic Theology to regard the "Millennium" as a symbolic phrase covering the present experiences of the Christian Church on earth. But what the primitive Church held as a theology, believing that it had received the same from its first Apostles, is certainly interesting. If

we think that that theology differs from that of the New Testament, it is worth while to study afresh to see how they (or perchance we) could make such a mistake. A few points only will be named here, points wherein the modern Christian is particularly apt to differ, and to feel surprised that early Christianity could have judged thus.

1. It has already been indicated that, from Justin Martyr down, Christians held that Regeneration was an act of God, accomplished in the Sacrament of Baptism, and applicable even to unconscious infants. To show that such ideas are even of older date, we may quote Barnabas, who in Chap. XI. points out Old Testament foreshadowings of Baptism, among them the "tree planted by the rivers of water" in Psalm i., and goes on to say that we "descend into the water full of sins and defilement, but come up bearing fruit in our heart, having the fear of God and trust in Jesus in our spirit." So Hermas (Similitude ix. 16) asks why certain stones were brought up out of a pit before being used for the building of a tower. "They were obliged," he is told, "to ascend through water in order that they might be made alive; for unless they laid aside the deadness of their life, they could not in any other way enter into the Kingdom of God." The reference to St. John iii. 5, is obvious. The explanation presently goes on to say that "before a man bears the name of the Son of God he is dead; but when he receives the seal, he lays aside his deadness and obtains life. The seal, then, is the water; they descend into the water dead,

and they arise alive."[1] Not less can be the meaning of Ignatius when (Ephes. xviii. 5) he says that our Lord "was born and baptized that by His passion He might purify the water."

2. We have just heard Hermas speaking of Baptism as receiving "the Seal." That was properly the name of one of the ceremonies of Baptism, which was understood to have a special meaning and value of its own, the anointing of the forehead with oil and laying on of hands, by which was understood to be conveyed a certain special gift of the Holy Ghost as an indwelling power. It was felt that the Holy Ghost had always acted upon men from the Creation, yet St. John had recognized an operation of the Holy Spirit, a Breathing of the Breath of God in Christian days, so much greater than former times had known, that he had even said of the days when our Lord was upon earth, "*There was no Breath yet,*" —that is the literal meaning of St. John vii. 39,— "*because that Jesus was not yet glorified.*" This new Breathing of God, which had fallen upon the Apostles in their upper room, later Christians believed that they received in turn through the laying on of apostolic hands. This sacramental form, which generally took place as one of the baptismal ceremonies, but might be separated from them, as in the case of persons baptized in sickness, was called "the Seal of the Lord," or simply "the Seal," or sometimes

[1] It is worthy of note that the very passage in which Hermas shows so high a sense of the value of Baptism is one where his vision is concerned with the Old Testament worthies. He seems to imply that their salvation also depends on being admitted into the membership of Christ's Kingdom by this door.

"the Unction." In modern times it has been known as "the Unction" in the Eastern Churches, and as "Confirmation" in the West. Scripture references for it were found in Acts viii. 5–19, xix. 1–6; Heb. vi. 1–2; Eph. i. 13, where it is to be observed that the "sealing" is "*after that ye believed*," and more doubtfully in 1 St. John ii. 20, 27.

We have no full account of the ceremonies of Baptism till we approach the end of the second century. Then we find in Tertullian (*De Baptismo*, vi., viii.). "Not that we obtain the Holy Spirit in the baptismal waters, but having been cleansed in the water under the ministry of the angel, we are there prepared for the Holy Spirit. . . . Then on stepping forth from the font we are anointed with consecrated oil,—a custom derived from the ancient discipline, in which men used to be anointed priests with oil out of a horn, since the time when Aaron was anointed by Moses, from which he is called a 'Christ' from the 'Chrism,' that is, the unction employed. And this unction gave His name to our Lord, being spiritually performed, because He was anointed with the Spirit by God His Father. . . . Thus in our case also, though the unction takes place in the flesh, the benefit is a spiritual benefit, just as, in the actual Baptism, the immersion in the water is a carnal transaction, but has a spiritual effect in our deliverance from our sins. After that the hand is laid on us in benediction, invoking and inviting the Holy Ghost. . . . Then the most Holy Spirit comes down willingly from the Father upon the bodies which have been cleansed and

blessed. He broods over the waters of Baptism, as if recognizing there His ancient throne."

So also Tertullian argues in his book *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* (viii.), that it is only through the body that the soul is restored to God: "The flesh is washed, that the soul may be rid of its stains; the flesh is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated; the flesh is sealed,[1] that the soul also may be protected; the flesh is overshadowed by the imposition of the hand, that the soul also may be illuminated by the Spirit; the flesh is fed with the Body and Blood of Christ, that the soul also may be made fat from God."

St. Cyprian had occasion to speak much of this laying on of hands, because his opponents in the Rebaptism controversy insisted that the laying on of hands was sufficient for receiving schismatics into the Church. Did they suppose, he asked, that schismatical bodies could make men members of Christ, but could not give the Holy Ghost? If they had not the Spirit, how could they do any spiritual work? From him, however, we will quote but a single phrase. He has been alluding to the visit of the Apostles to Samaria to lay hands on certain persons already baptized, and he adds that this "is still our usage, that those who are baptized in the Church should be presented to the prelates of the Church, and by means of our prayer and the laying on of our hand should obtain the Holy Ghost, and be perfected with the Seal of the Lord" (*Letters* lxxii. 9).

Occasional allusions appear in various writers of

[1] The allusion is to the signing with the cross.

our period, in Theophilus of Antioch, in Irenæus, in Clement, Origen, Firmilian, in Eusebius, who expounds the twenty-third Psalm and says that of course all Christians will know what that oil was with which their heads were anointed. We will make but one more quotation, from the *Apostolic Constitutions*[1] (ii. 32), "What if a man should speak against a bishop? through whom the Lord gave the Holy Ghost to be in you in the laying on of hands, . . . through whom ye were sealed with the oil of gladness and the ointment of understanding; through whom ye were declared sons of light; through whom the Lord in your Illumination,[2] bearing witness by the laying on of the hand of the bishop, extended to each of you the sacred voice, saying, 'Thou art My son; this day have I begotten thee.' Through thy bishop God adopteth thee for His son, O man: recognize, O son, the right hand which is thy mother; love him who after God was thy father, and reverence him."

This rite has been preserved by Oriental, Roman, Lutheran, and Anglican Christians, the Greek Church allowing priests to be the ministers of it with chrism blessed by the bishop, Romans and Anglicans limiting it to bishops. In the Roman Church the laying on of hands has almost disappeared, being rep-

[1] This is a curious collection of materials, largely the work of a fourth century forger, who is responsible also for the interpolated edition of the Letters of Ignatius. The passage here quoted bears internal marks of being genuinely ancient. So at least says Dr. Mason in his valuable and scholarly study, "*The Relation of Confirmation to Baptism*," 320.

[2] Illumination was a favorite name for Baptism in the ancient Church.

resented by the extending of the hand toward the candidates kneeling before the bishop, but the anointing is made prominent. Among Anglicans, the anointing has been disused as not having any certain warrant in Scripture, and the laying on of hands with prayer is regarded as the essential of the rite. A curious movement for the restoration of such a laying on of hands agitated American Baptists and distracted many of their Churches in the middle of the sixteenth century, the "Six Principle Baptists" planting themselves on the passage Heb. vi. 1, 2.

3. Of the early teachings about the Eucharist as a sacrament of feeding, much has been said already, especially on pp. 270–276. We will only add here a few words of Ignatius, to carry the testimonies closer to Apostolic times. To the Ephesians (xx.) he writes of Christians as "breaking one Bread, which is the medicine of immortality, and the antidote that we should not die, but live for ever in Jesus Christ." Again he speaks to the Smyrnaeans (vii.) of certain heretics, and says that "they abstain from Eucharist and prayer because they allow not that the Eucharist is the Flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, and which the Father of His goodness raised up."

But there is another side of early Eucharistic doctrine of which something ought to be said here. The Eucharist was universally regarded as being not only a Sacrament, but a Sacrifice. It may help toward the understanding of this view to mention that the popular notion that our Lord offered and completed His own perfect Sacrifice on the hill Calvary, is a

mistake. The offering of sacrifice, in the higher sense of that phrase, was not coincident with the victim's death. Sacrifice—at least, animal sacrifice—consisted in bringing before God in an appointed place, and in solemn form, a body which had passed through death. This our Lord did, when He was fulfilling the types of the Old Law, by taking His Body, passed through death to a new life, and presenting Himself with it in the Heavenly Places. It is the doctrine of the Epistle to the Hebrews that our Lord is everlastingly a High Priest, that Heaven is the place of His sacrificial service, and that He must of necessity "*have somewhat also to offer*" (Heb. viii. 3). The early Christians had no notion of offering a new propitiation, or making a fresh sacrifice, a repeated immolation, of Jesus Christ, but regarding Him as offering in Heaven a memorial of His Death, as a Sacrifice that never failed, they regarded the Eucharist as a companion memorial instituted by our Lord here below, as a means whereby His covenant people might take part with Him in His offering of Himself above. What the Jewish Church had done blindly with its bloody sacrifices, *showing the Lord's death till He come*, that the Christian did clearly with its unbloody offering of memorial bread and wine. This idea made Malachi's prediction (i. 11), "My Name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto My Name, and a pure offering," a great favorite among Christians.

Thus Justin Martyr (*Dialogue with Trypho* xli.), "Hence God speaks by the mouth of Malachi, . .

He then speaks of those Gentiles, namely us, who in every place offer sacrifices to Him, *i. e.*, the Bread of the Eucharist, and also the Cup of the Eucharist, affirming both that we glorify His Name, and that you profane it." And again in the same book (cxvi., cxvii.), "We are the true high-priestly race of God, as even God Himself bears witness, saying that in every place among the Gentiles sacrifices are presented unto Him, well-pleasing and pure. Now God receives sacrifices from no one except through His priests. Accordingly, God anticipating all the sacrifices which we offer through this Name, and which Jesus the Christ enjoined us to offer, *i. e.*, in the Eucharist of the Bread and the Cup, and which are presented by Christians in all places throughout the world, bears witness that they are well-pleasing to Him. . . . You assert that God does not accept the sacrifices of those who dwelt then in Jerusalem, and were called Israelites, but says that He is pleased with the prayers of that nation then dispersed, and calls their prayers sacrifices. Now that prayers and giving of thanks offered by worthy men, are the only sacrifices that are perfect and well-pleasing before God, I also maintain. For such alone have Christians undertaken to offer, even in the remembrance effected by their solid and liquid food, whereby the suffering of the Son of God, which He endured, is brought to mind."

Irenæus has the same mind. In his book *Against All Heresies*, (IV. xvii. 5; xviii. 1, 2), we find him saying, "Again, giving directions to His disciples to offer to God the first-fruits of His own created

things,—not as if He stood in need of them, but that they might be themselves neither unfruitful nor ungrateful,—He took that created thing bread, and gave thanks, and said, *This is My Body.* And the cup, likewise, which is part of that creation to which we belong, He confessed to be His blood, and taught the New Oblation of the New Covenant, which the Church receiving from the Apostles offers to God throughout all the world." Then follows the quotation from Malachi, and then we have presently,—"The Oblation of the Church, therefore, which the Lord gave instructions should be offered throughout all the world, is accounted with God a pure sacrifice, and is acceptable to Him, not that He stands in need of a sacrifice from us, but that he who offers is himself glorified, in what he does offer, if his gift be accepted. . . . And the class of oblations in general has not been set aside. For there were both oblations there, and there are oblations here. Sacrifices there were among the people; sacrifices there are, too, in the Church. But the species alone has been changed, inasmuch as the offering is now made not by slaves, but by freemen." So also, in a fragment (xxxvii.), "Those who have become acquainted with the secondary constitutions of the Apostles, are aware that the Lord instituted a New Oblation in the New Covenant, according to Malachi, the prophet. . . . For we make an Oblation to God of the Bread and the Cup of Blessing, giving Him thanks in that He has commanded the earth to bring forth these fruits for our nourishment. And then, when we have perfected the Obla-

tion, we invoke the Holy Spirit, that He may exhibit[1] this Sacrifice, both the Bread the Body of Christ, and the Cup the Blood of Christ, in order that the receivers of these antitypes may obtain remission of sins and life eternal. Those persons, then, who perform these Oblations in remembrance of the Lord do not fall in with Jewish views, but performing the service after a spiritual manner, they shall be called sons of wisdom."

So we find Apollonius, a Roman Senator, martyred in the reign of Commodus, replying when called upon to sacrifice, "As to sacrifices, I and all Christians offer a bloodless sacrifice to God."[2] And so Tertullian speaks of the Eucharist as "a Sacrifice," "the Sacrificial Prayers," and of "standing at the Altar of God" (*On Prayer*, xviii., xix.; *On the Dress of Women* II. xi.). Cyprian is full of such language. Even the Alexandrians, while mostly hunting for allegorical applications of all doctrine, recognize this as the doctrine which they are to allegorize. Clement calls the Eucharist "the Oblation," and says that Melchizedek's offering of bread and wine furnished "consecrated food for a type of the Eucharist" (*Stromata* I. xix.; IV. xxv.). Origen also parallels Christian presbyters and deacons with Jewish priests and Levites (*Hom. on Jeremiah* xii. 3), declares that in the Eucharist we plead the death of Christ, and "this is the only memorial

[1] Rather, "that He may set forth," or "that He may declare this Sacrifice, the Bread to be the Body of Christ," etc., *Cf.* p. 474.

[2] The words are quoted by Hardy, *Christianity and the Roman Government*, 202, from a recently discovered account of this martyrdom.

that makes God favorable toward men" (*On Levit.* xiii. 3). And in his *Homilies on Joshua* (xi.) we have these words: "But when thou seest Gentiles coming in to the faith, Churches built, Altars not sprinkled with the blood of cattle, but consecrated with the precious Blood of Christ,—when thou seest Priests and Levites ministering not the blood of bulls and of goats, but the Word of God through the grace of the Holy Ghost, then say that Jesus hath succeeded Moses and obtained the princedom, not Jesus[1] the son of Nun, but Jesus the Son of God."

It must be observed, however, that the Church was slow to disentangle the words used of heathen and Jewish sacrifices from their old associations. Thus Tertullian will not use the Latin word *sacrificare* of any Christian sacrifices. "We do not sacrifice (*sacrificemus*) for others," he says (Apol. x.) "for the same reason that we do not for ourselves." But he uses *offerre sacrificium* and *offerre* alone with perfect freedom, to describe a Christian service. Of the two Latin words for altar, *ara* was not used by Christians at first. They had no *aras*, they said. But they used *altare* freely. Tertullian, however, begins to use the phrase *Ara Dei*. So with two Greek words for altar. Using one, they said they had no altars; using another, they gloried in having them. They were slow to take up the word "priest." They had been so accustomed to connect

[1] Jesus is the Greek form of the name which when we are translating from Hebrew we call Joshua. It stands twice in our common version of the New Testament, when it is the name of the successor of Moses,—Acts vii. 45; Heb. iv. 8.

the word with technicalities of blood and fire, that they were slow to see that its only essential meaning was that which belonged to the Priesthood of our Lord, and its truest application to one who represented Him. When at last this idea began to be grasped in the Latin-speaking Church, *sacerdos* was for some time an exclusive title of the bishop. He alone was so fully commissioned to represent the Heavenly High-Priest, as that he might even wear the title of "priest."

4. It is very commonly held to-day that the law of earthly sacrifice was so fulfilled by our Lord, that it has no further application in Christian times. The early Christians did not think so. But they did speak in just that tone of a law now commonly held to be of strictest application to the Christian conscience,—the law of the Sabbath. In Christ, they said, we have entered into that rest which the Jewish Sabbaths meagrely prefigured. It was one of their boasts that they did not "Sabbatize."

So we read in *Barnabas* (xv.) "One properly resting sanctifies it, when we ourselves, having received the promise, wickedness no longer existing, and all things having been made new by the Lord, shall be able to work righteousness." Then he quotes from Isaiah *Your new moons and your Sabbaths I cannot endure*, and explains it as meaning, "Your present Sabbaths are not acceptable to Me, but that is which I have made, when giving rest to all things, I shall make a beginning of the eighth day, that is, a beginning of another world." "Wherefore also," Barnabas goes on, "we keep the eighth

day with joyfulness, the day also on which Jesus rose again from the dead."

We should naturally take this as including after all a transference of the weekly rest from the Sabbath to the Lord's Day, and so we should understand Ignatius, describing Christians (*Magnes.* ix.) as "No longer Sabbatizing, but living according to the Lord's Day," though the last is a peculiar phrase and not the same as "observing the Lord's Day," but later writers give us no choice. These early Christians *kept no weekly day of rest at all.* The author of the *Address to Diognetus* (iv.) says of the Jews, "As to their scrupulosity concerning meats, and their superstition as respects the Sabbaths, and their boasting about circumcision, and their fancies about fasting and the new moons, which are utterly ridiculous and unworthy of notice, I do not think that you require to learn anything from me. . . . To speak falsely of God as if He forbade us to do what is good on the Sabbath days,—how is this not impious?" Nor does he mean to condemn only some Rabbinical notions, for in his next chapter he says expressly of the Christians that they do not lead a life "marked out by any singularity." Certainly, refusing to do work on the first day of the week would have been a very great singularity. It is just such a singularity of the Jews that marks the contrast.

In like manner Justin Martyr says (*Dialogue with Trypho* xviii., xxiii.), "We too would observe the fleshly circumcision, and the Sabbaths, and in short, all the feasts, if we did not know for what reason they were enjoined you,—namely, on account of your

transgressions and the hardness of your hearts." He goes on to claim (xxiii.) than neither Enoch nor any other of the early Patriarchs was circumcised or observed Sabbaths. Then he appeals to Trypho. "Do you see that the elements are not idle and keep no Sabbaths? Remain as you were born. For if there was no need of circumcision before Abraham, or of the observance of Sabbaths, of feasts and sacrifices, before Moses, no more need is there of them now."

We may think Justin greatly mistaken both in thinking that a weekly rest-day was not ordered before Moses, and in holding that a good Christian needed no such day, but we must see that he despises the idea of resting on one day in seven, and has no idea of defending himself against the charge of breaking the Sabbath by saying, "I rest on the first day of the week instead."[1] Of course the Lord's Day was deeply marked from the first as a day of religious observance. There was a celebration of the Holy Eucharist in every congregation, and every Christian was expected to communicate, on that day. In Justin Martyr's time, we have seen, the deacons would carry portions of the consecrated bread and wine to those who were prevented by sickness from being

[1] In Doctor G. P. Fisher's *History of Christian Doctrine*, 361, it is remarked that among the Reformers of the 16th Century John Knox, Luther, and Calvin, all took this ground. Calvin found "the substance of the Sabbath" "not in one day but in the whole course of our lives." The notion that the observance of one day in seven was enjoined upon Christians, that great thinker reckoned "among the dreams of false prophets." The English Hooker and Andrewes, on the other hand, maintained the doctrine of a rest-day in every week as part of the immutable law.

present. But this was before the day's work began. The early Church had no idea that any Mosaic Law of rest was binding on the Christian conscience.

5. In the view of the Post-Apostolic Church, as soon as we can find evidence of it, the dead were held to have passed into an intermediate state and place, which was neither heaven nor hell in the stricter use of the words, there to wait till in the resurrection they resume a bodily existence. Then only, in the great Judgment, would the rewards of joy or pain be perfected. And in the meantime it was felt that the Church on earth had a right to ask God's blessing on any who had departed in the faith and in peace. Tertullian is the first writer who mentions such a habit, but he mentions it as a thing understood and general. There is no trace of prayer for the deliverance of Christian souls from pain in this period. Rather, the prayers are of those who believe that God will bless their dead, whether they pray, or no, but wish greatly that the blessings which God's love is sure to send, should be allowed to be in part an answer to their prayers, and so a gift of human love as well.

6. It ought to be noted, finally, that there was much uncertainty among the Churches throughout this period, as to the precise boundaries of the Canon of Holy Scripture. In the case of the Old Testament the difficulty came mostly from the inclusion of some apocryphal writings in the LXX. version. Origen, as we have seen, was deceived into contending for these uncanonical writings as part of the "Bible of the Church." There was some hesitation,

on the other hand, about admitting Esther and Lamentations. It was only in the time of St. Jerome that the Old Testament Canon was settled in its present form, and even so the great influence of St. Augustine so far re-opened the question as to secure for some apocryphal books a recognition as "Deutero-Canonical" from the Latin-speaking Churches. Hence the official Bible of the Roman Communion is somewhat different in its contents from that of the English-speaking and Eastern Churches.

In the case of the New Testament, the Epistle of Barnabas, that of Clement of Rome, and the *Shepherd* of Hermas were quoted by some early writers as Holy Scripture, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, St. James, 2, 3 St. John, 2 St. Peter, and the Revelation, were for a long time suspected here and there or even disowned. It was not till the end of the fourth century that the Canon was fairly established in its present shape. It was a matter of historical testimony whether certain works had been divinely accredited, or no. Testimony was slow in going from point to point. The slowness of the settlement shows that the Churches were not convinced easily. The final agreement shows that they *were* convinced at last.

IV. *Worship.* The subject divides itself into two parts,—the weekly service of the Christian Eucharist, and the forms of devotion set out for such as could meet together in the Church's name for daily worship.

1. We will take the Daily Services first, because we know so very little about them. It would seem

that the third, sixth, and ninth hours, corresponding fairly to our nine, twelve, and three, were marked from very early times as hours of public prayer commended to such persons as had devotion and leisure. St. Cyprian speaks (*On the Lord's Prayer*, near end) of the morning and evening hours being added on the ground that prayer ought to begin and end the day, and the Church cannot have gone on for two centuries without enjoining *private* prayers every morning and night on all its members, so that the reference must be to an enlargement of the number of *public* services, to be recited by the Church in its corporate capacity, from three to five.

There is reason for believing that the services said at these hours consisted of the recital of groups of Psalms, followed in each service by the Lord's Prayer. As an example of the slowness of liturgical growth beyond these simple beginnings, it may be said that in the Roman Church, which doubtless set the fashion for many others, it was only in 590, when St. Gregory the Great became bishop, that the reading of lessons from other parts of Holy Scripture was added to the psalmody of the daily offices. It would seem also to have been long before the element of prayer passed beyond the use of the one divine model.

2. But the daily offices were but the very hem of the Church's "garment of praise." The best robe itself, the glorious vesture of the Body Mystical, was the Service of the Eucharist. That service came to be called preëminently "the Divine Liturgy," "liturgy" being a Greek word for "a public service,"

"a service rendered to the community." Such services in heathen states had been so mixed up with religious forms, that a religious and indeed sacrificial idea had begun to attach to the word before the Coming of our Lord. The study of "Liturgies" covers all forms of Christian worship, but in careful use "Liturgy" is reserved for "a Communion Service" exclusively. We shall so use it here.

Now the earliest account of a Christian Liturgy, which is in any way full, is found in the Catechetical Lectures of St. Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, delivered in 348, when he was a presbyter of that city. How then can we pretend to know what were the elements of a Liturgy in the Post-Apostolic Age? The answer is found in a very remarkable fact. Students of Ancient Liturgies find that they fall into five groups or families, the Syrian, representing the Churches of Jerusalem and Antioch, and a large region naturally following their lead, the Egyptian, representing Alexandria and its dependencies, the Persian, the Hispano-Gallican, and the Roman, to which is sometimes added the Byzantine, the use of the Church of Constantinople, which is an outgrowth from the Syrian. Now to call the very earliest forms of any of these families by such names as Liturgy of St. James, Liturgy of St. Mark, Liturgy of St. Peter, would be utterly unhistorical and misleading, unless it were done simply for convenience of reference, with full understanding that no one supposes that St. James or St. Mark ever heard such a form as now bears his name; but our remarkable fact is this, and a very remarkable one it is. These diverse

Liturgies, of different families, and representing widely separated lands, do after all agree so extraordinarily in a number of points as to prove conclusively that at some point in the Church's history there arose a tradition of certain principles as to what a Eucharistic Service should be, which tradition absolutely dominated the Church throughout its length and breadth.

Again, what are called "living Liturgies," Liturgies that are in actual use for worship, are, of course, liable to much revision, but we have one check on our liturgical history. The fact that the Persian Church fell almost unanimously into the Nestorian heresy in the middle of the fifth century, and the Egyptian Church nearly as entirely into the Eutychian heresy a little later, has done much to help us to distinguish between what was in their Liturgies before that separation, and what either of them has added since. We may say, then, with a good deal of confidence, that wherever a Catholic Christian might have gone to Church on a Sunday in the year 400, he would have found these elements in the Liturgy there used:

(*a*) A preparatory service, in which reading of sundry Scriptures would have place,—perhaps a Prophecy, and certainly an Epistle and a Gospel,—and the sermon would be preached, after which all unbaptized persons, and all persons who were suspended from Communion, would be compelled to retire.[1]

[1] From this "dismissal," in Latin, *Missa*, of the Catechumens, the preceding service came to be called *Missa Catechumenorum*, and

(*b*) The service proper, containing:

(1) The Kiss of Peace, given by men to men and by women to women, the two sexes being always separated in Church.

(2) The offering of bread and wine to the officiating clergy, out of which the portions to be consecrated would be taken, and the rest set aside for the support of the clerical staff.

(3) The words, said as verse and response, —

V. "Lift up your hearts."

R. "We lift them up unto the Lord."

V. "Let us give thanks unto our Lord God."

R. "It is meet and right."

(4) A Preface of exalted praise and thanksgiving, often running to considerable length, and though differing much in different Liturgies, always passing into

(5) The *Sanctus*, or Triumphal Hymn,—[1]

"*Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of hosts,*
Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory."

(6) A long prayer, commemorating the redemptive work of our Lord Jesus Christ, sometimes beginning even from the Creation, passing through

the rest of the service *Missa Fidelium*, and hence comes the very innocent word "Mass." There is not a particle of corrupt doctrine or practice attaching to the original idea of the Mass of the Catechumens, or the Mass of the Faithful.

[1] Sometimes called the *Ter-Sanctus* from its twice repeated "Holy," but the name *Trisagion* belongs properly to another liturgical form very dear to Oriental Christians, "Holy God, Holy and Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy upon us." The *Sanctus* is formed from the cry of the Seraphim (Is. vi. 3), with the addition of "Heaven and," and (in nearly all Liturgies) the change from 'His glory" to "Thy glory." Some form suggested by St. Matt. xxi. 9, is generally added.

(7) A solemn Oblation of the bread and wine as a Christian Sacrifice, into

(8) An Invocation of the Holy Ghost, to consecrate the Elements as a Sacrament, of which we will give here a specimen drawn from the (So-called), Liturgy of St. James, the Liturgy of the Church of Antioch, in its Greek version, which is probably one of the oldest forms that have come down to us:

"Send down, O Lord, Thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these Holy Gifts that lie before Thee, that visiting them with His holy and good and glorious Presence, He may hallow them, and make this bread the Holy Body of Christ, and this cup the Precious Blood of Christ, that they may avail to all who partake of them for remission of sins and for everlasting life, for hallowing of souls and bodies, for bringing forth the fruit of good works, for confirming of Thy Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, which Thou didst found upon the rock of the Faith, that the gates of hell should not prevail against it, delivering it from all heresy, and offences of them that do iniquity, preserving it even unto the end of the world."

(9) A long Prayer of Intercession, for the Living, and for the Faithful Departed.

(10) The Fraction and Commixture,—presently to be explained.

(11) The Lord's Prayer.

(12) The Communion.

Very likely our Christian traveller might find these elements of service coming in very different order in different countries. We have given the order of Palestine and Syria. At Alexandria he

might hear the Great Intercession (9), intruded very interruptingly into the Preface (4) to the *Sanctus*. In Persia he might have it inserted between the Oblation (7) and the Invocation (8). In France or Spain he would probably have heard it where the English and American Prayer Books put their Prayer for the Church Militant now, immediately after the first offering of the bread and wine, and all this before the Kiss of Peace. In Italy again he might have found the Intercession divided,—it is so in the Roman Service as far back as we can trace it, with the Prayer for the Living coming before the Commemoration of our Lord's Redemptive Acts (6), and the Prayer for the Dead after the Oblation (7). Such differences, and large differences in the phraseology of these prayers and thanksgivings, which yet have a common plan, only bring out in stronger relief the fact that some power had impressed deeply upon the Church's mind that certain things must be done everywhere at every celebration of the Eucharist. If the Christians of Persia and Egypt and Spain had set out simultaneously to produce written forms for the Eucharistic Service, they would never have agreed in the choice of materials and in the general framework in any such way, unless they had all had those particular materials put before them, that particular framework made familiar to them, by an authority so commanding that they could not but follow it.

But then, of course, different Churches may not have reduced their Liturgies to writing simultaneously. No! but let us consider what probably did

happen. We may fairly assume that the Church began with almost entirely extemporaneous devotions in its Eucharistic worship, assisted partly by a reverent memory of what our Lord Himself had done and said, when He celebrated that first Eucharist of all in the upper room on the night before His death, and partly by supernatural gifts of utterance, such as marked a man as a prophet. We may well believe that for a long time the Church had men of inspired utterance to consecrate her Eucharists, and that one of the signs of the work of the One Spirit guiding them was a large unanimity of plan, with a rich freedom and diversity of execution. Then would come a time when the Church was not so rich in prophets, when uninspired men could but feebly copy, and when it would be natural to write such a direction for the Eucharistic Service as that of the *Teaching of the Apostles*. "But permit the prophets to give thanks as much as they will." That time, when some bishops and presbyters still had special inspirations, and some had not, would seem to have continued as far as the middle of the second century, and this would account for Justin Martyr's phrase, that the chief man among the brethren "offers prayers and thanksgivings according to his ability" (p. 153).

But the gift of prophecy was for a season. The Church found that it was failing more and more. It was plainly not intended of God for an abiding possession. The Church's ears were still full of noble and godly forms, but her tongue was losing the power to utter more such, unless by an effort of

memory. That would naturally be the time when the Church would do the great work of turning familiar devotional language into written tradition. The failure of the prophet brings the composition of the written Liturgy. That is a conjecture, but it is one of which we may be fairly sure. In that case also we may pretty confidently set down the process of change from unwritten to written liturgical forms as complete within the second century, and it would seem to the present writer fair to suppose that the general habit that belongs to all the ancient Liturgies alike may be set down as coming from really Apostolic sources. There never was a Christian Liturgy, probably, that did not show most of these common markings.

It may be noted that the saying of the Creed does not appear in this list of common features. It is quite true. It was not a part of Christian Eucharistic worship till after the Arian controversy had made men so much keener than ever before to make sure that men claiming Catholic communion could bear Catholic tests. It is a remarkable instance of a new feature everywhere added to the old structure, and so gaining that very universality which has been here put forward as an evidence of originality. It should be observed, however, that this great exception was itself the outcome of a great historic struggle. It was added to the original liturgic framework by a force so tremendous that it could not be hid. It may be taken as a sign that the general argument is sound. Universal agreement in liturgical plan

means *either* Apostolic origin, *or* some force so great that it could not but be heard of in history.

Concerning three points in the foregoing list questions have been raised which should have mention here. In the Commemoration of Redemption (6) some scholars have held that our Lord's words, "*This is My Body*," "*This is My Blood*," were not originally rehearsed, though now no Liturgy is said without them. St. Cyril of Jerusalem does not refer to them in his account of the service, and in the Persian Liturgies this passage is crushed into the service in the midst of a long thanksgiving, in a most artificial fashion, which cannot represent an original use. On the other hand, it is pleaded that St. Cyril had lectured on the words in question a little before in considering the doctrine of the Eucharist, and therefore passed them over in silence here, and that the Nestorian Church of Persia had probably had a tradition of never allowing this most sacred formula to be written down, and hence it came to pass both that some manuscripts appear without it, and that it was inserted into ill-chosen places in the service in later days.

It ought to be observed in any endeavor to balance the probabilities of this question, that when our Lord Himself instituted the Eucharistic Sacrament and Sacrifice, "*He took bread and blessed it.*" That was His Communion Service, and His Apostles remembered well what He did and what He said. They would surely endeavor to do very much *as* He did. If we may judge from the universal habit of early Liturgies, He made a long prayer, very rich in

the elements of thankful commemoration and high praise, and ended with an act of Oblation of Himself and an Invocation of the Holy Ghost. Then the hallowed bread was made to be His Body, and He said so, breaking it and giving it to His disciples. Most certainly those disciples did not regard those words, "*This is My Body*," as words of power making the bread so to be, but as His declaration of what by His prayer of blessing He had made it to be before. In other words what are commonly called the "Words of Institution" are not properly so called, for it was not in saying those words, but in the blessing and giving thanks which had preceded, that our Lord made His Sacrament to be.

St. Gregory the Great (about 590) got it into his mind that the Apostles used to consecrate the Eucharist by saying the Lord's Prayer. That has been a sore puzzle to liturgical scholars. May it not be that he had heard some disquieting testimony that they did not use what men were beginning to call the "Words of Institution," and that having lost the true key to the meaning of the service, the noble thought that God's supreme Sacramental Gift must be won by prayer rather than by formula, he fastened upon the Lord's own prayer as the only thing which looked like a formula, such as his somewhat legal turn of mind led him to demand as a basis of sacramental efficacy, in the order of service which he was assured was Apostolic in its tradition?

This question, however, might be decided either way without affecting the Table of Eucharistic Materials just given. A more concerning doubt has

been raised on the other side, whether the form (8), the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, was really a universal feature of Liturgies descending from Apostolic days. The present writer believes that it was. It is said to be wanting in some Liturgies of the Churches of Gaul and Spain,—Gallican and Mozarabic they are called,—but while some copies have such a form, and some have not, we have the testimony of St. Isidore of Seville that it was a feature of the Spanish service in his day (about 600), which is earlier than any of our extant copies. Not a copy of the Italian Liturgy in any of its forms, Roman, Ambrosian, Gregorian, has preserved such a thing, unless it be in some meagre trace introduced into the Commemoration of Redemption, but again we have testimony that in an earlier day than any from which we have service-books remaining, the African Church, which had the same kind of service as the Italian, did use this Invocation of the Holy Ghost, and regard the Consecration of the Eucharistic Elements as depending on it. It seems as if it could be safely set down that in the year 400, or in the Post-Apostolic Age, such a feature as is here marked (8) was really a part of every Eucharistic form.

The ceremonies of Fraction and Commixtion, numbered (10), were a symbolic breaking of bread to signify that our Lord's Body was broken for our sakes, and the putting of a portion of this broken bread into the chalice, to symbolize, as by the re-union of the Body and the Blood, the re-union of our Lord's Soul and Body in the Resurrection. There was a time, apparently, when these ceremo-

nies were universal, but it has been gravely questioned whether they were primitive. For instance, St. Chrysostom mentions that in his day (about 400) the Syrian Rite did include a breaking of the bread, before the curtains of the sanctuary were drawn back for the Communion of the people, and he uses the word appropriated to this "ritual fraction," and not the word commonly employed for the breaking into many pieces for distribution. But St. Cyril of Jerusalem explaining the Liturgy forty years earlier does not mention any such thing. It does not follow certainly, however, that the custom did not then exist.

The subject is of some interest as possibly connecting itself with the forms of prayer which we quoted from the *Teaching* on pp. 27, 28. Those two prayers have been stated by eminent scholars, and even by some who did not despise liturgical studies, to be "very early forms for the celebration of the Eucharist." It ought to have been quite inconceivable that they were meant to stand as a Liturgy, a sufficient form for the consecration of the elements. They have nothing in common with the universal liturgical tradition of the Church, no matter how simply one might imagine it to be treated. They would perfectly well *accompany* such a framework as we have described. They could not be imagined to be acceptable as a substitute for it, nor yet as a root out of which the kind of Liturgies that are now known to us could grow. For instance, the great Thanksgiving of the Church's liturgic habit is a Thanksgiving for the whole work of Redemption.

Here we have a thanksgiving for this Eucharistic Gift, "the holy Vine of David," made known through our Lord. Again, the *order* of the prayers, putting the cup first, and the express mention of the bread as already "broken bread" are not to be overlooked. Both these facts hint, at least, that these are thanksgivings after the consecration rather than prayers of consecration.

If now we might assume that the ceremony of the symbolic fraction was in use in the region where the directions were written, all would become clear. These would appear as prayers for the congregation to say, perhaps aloud as part of the Liturgy itself, perhaps privately, as many devout persons use manuals of devotion in the intervals of liturgical services now, the first just after the consecration of the Bread and the Cup, when the Cup is taken up first for an act of thanksgiving because last mentioned by the officiant at the altar, the second after the ritual fraction has added a most interesting symbolism to the hallowed Bread, which is at once made a subject for devout contemplation. If it be held that the ritual fraction was not known so early as the end of the first century, then this prayer over the broken bread must refer to the breaking for distribution as having already taken place, but the word for "broken" is just that which in later times distinguished the ritual fraction from the fraction for communion.

A large amount of information in regard to the worship and devotional usages of this period, may be found in the Rev. F. E. Warren's *Liturgy and*

Ritual of the Ante Nicene Church (pp. 319), published by the S. P. C. K.

Here we must close our study of the Post-Apostolic Age. With much left out which it would have been a pleasure to put in, it has been the writer's endeavor to be fair, and while setting forth the glories of the Divine Kingdom, to conceal nothing of its faults and failures. Yet whatever the faults, the failures, the mistakes of the Church of Christ may be, it is always His Mystical Body here on earth, deeply one with the Saviour Himself, one with the great Church of the heavenly Paradise, and instinct with the heavenly Life which is the Leaven that changes the character of the world. The more the believer studies the history of that wonderful Church, even in its worst days, the more reason he will have to be thankful for the coming into this world's low life of Jesus Christ, who *is* our Life.

INDEX.

Abilius, Bishop of Alexandria, 87.
Abdon, Martyr, 364.
Accusation, of Christians discouraged, 130 sq.
Acts i. 13—64.
—— i. 21, 22—69.
—— iii. 13, 26—29.
—— iv. 27, 30—29.
—— iv. v.—107.
—— vi.—205.
—— xiii. 52; xiv. 1—225n.
—— xiv. 6—225n.
—— xv. i.—178.
—— xv. 13—65n.
—— xv. 20, 29—170.
—— xx. 17, 28—80.
—— xxi. 8—120.
Ælia, Capitolina, built by Hadrian, 179, 211, 350.
Africa, in Tertullian's Time, 281, 282.
Agapé, a love feast, 270.
Agatha, Martyr, 363.
Age of the Councils, 9.
Agrippinus, Bishop of Carthage, 406.
Albigenses, 436.
Alce, a Roman lady, 137.
Alcibiades, the Syrian, 188.
—— his *Book of Elchesai*, 188.
—— his book, Essene Ebionitic, 188.
—— gave a new way of salvation, 188.
Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, 17, 352, 353, 355, 363.
Alexander, the Great, 317.
Alexandria, election of Bishop at, 72.
—— list of Bishops at, 86, 87, 356.
Alexandria, its place in Church history, 317 sq.
—— its Philosophy and Theology, 319.
—— the School at, 354, 358.
—— plague-stricken, 394.
Almsgiving, 398, 399.
Altar, the Christian, 27, 464.
Ambrose, a convert, 354, 363.
Amen, its early use, 151, 153.
Ammia, a prophetess, 120.
Ammonius, Saccas, 349.
Anag murdered Chosroes, 434.
Andrews, Bishop, 295n.
Andronicus and Junias, 65.
Angels, the worship of, 146.
—— of Churches, 66.
Anicetus, bishop of Rome, 212, 213, 214.
—— called upon by Polycarp, 212, 213n., 214.
—— his view of the Paschal question, 212 sq.
Annianus, bishop of Alexandria, 86.
Antioch, bishops at, 87.
Antiphonal singing, 54n.
Antoninus Pius, emperor, 131, 144, 145, 146n., 156.
Antony, the hermit, 437.
—— the founder of monasticism, 437 sq.
—— his experiences and resolve, 437, 438, 439.
—— miracles, ascribed to, 438.
—— his career and death, 437–40.
Apollonius, Roman Senator and martyr, 463.
Apologetics, their ages, 119, 120, 160, 173, 174.

Apologetics, belong to a period of transition, 120, 160.
Apostle, change in the idea, 63.
Apostles, named uniformly in three groups, 64, 65.
—— were numerous in Apostolic times, 65, 90.
—— their relation to later Bishops, 65, 66, 90.
Apostolic age, and its leaders, 1 sq.
—— Church, its position and difficulties, 1 sq., 9, 10.
—— an immaturity, 10, 11.
—— governed by Apostles, 61 sq.
—— governed later by Bishops, 61 sq.
—— Fathers, The, 18 sq.
—— as a group, 19.
—— their writings, 18 sq.
—— Succession, 327.
Aquilius, 160.
Arianism, 9, 384n.
Aristides, his *Apology*, 120, 121.
—— account of the *Apology*, 122.
—— its recovery, 122, 123.
—— account of its contents, 125 sq.
Armenia, its apostle, 434.
—— its Christianity, 434, 435.
Arnobius, rhetorician, 440.
—— Christian writer, 441.
Artaxius, martyr, 243.
Artemon and his heresy, 431.
Asceticism, its value, 437, 438.
Asiarch, the chief priest, 134.
Aspasius, presbyter, 244.
Astarte, the worship of, 281.
Athanasius, of Alexandria, 346, 440.
Athenagoras, and his works, 160, 161, 324.
Athenodorus, brother of Gregory, 426, 427.
Attalus, a martyr, 163, 169.
Augustine, of Hippo, 50, 240, 241, 334, 346, 365, 412.
—— as Manichæan, 436.
Aurelian Emperor, 432.
Aurelius, his reign, 157n.
Authority for deciding in controversy or doubt, 57, 261, 262.
—— residing in the Church, 262.

Babylas of Antioch, martyr, 363.
Bacchius, grandfather of Justin Martyr, 142.
Baptism, early teaching upon, 25, 149, 269, 398, 399, 403 sq., 454 sq.
—— and regeneration, 269, 454, 455.
—— on its form and matter, 280n., 295, 296, 297, 403 sq., 405n.
—— in cases of necessity, 295.
—— forgiveness of sin after, 309 sq.
—— of infants, 393.
—— clinic, 393.
—— controversy over its repetition, 403 sq.
—— Tertullian's views upon, 404 sq.
—— conditional rebaptism, 405.
—— in the Triune Name, 405.
—— heretical, a question, 410.
—— schismatic, a question, 410.
—— as "the Seal," 455.
—— ceremonies attending it, 456, 457.
Baptists, "Six principle baptists," 459.
Bar Cochba, the Jew, 113, 179.
Barlaam and Josaphat, the story of, 122, 123, 124.
—— its connection with Aristides' *Apology*, 122 sq.
Barnabas, companion of St. Paul, 19, 20, 21.
—— his Anti-Jewish feeling, 21.
—— called an apostle, 65.
Barnabas, the Letter of, 19 sq.
—— its history and character discussed, 19, 20, 21.
—— its allegorism, 23.
—— its dates according to Lightfoot, 25.
Basil of Cæsarea, 346, 410.
Basilides, heretic, 196.

Basilides, bishop of Leon, 400.
Benson on the Carthaginians, 281.
—— on Cyprian, 368, 368n., 387, 391n.
Berington, and Kirk, *Faith of Catholics*, 265.
Biblias, martyr, 169.
Bishop, the force of the word, 38, 62 sq.
—— the authority and office considered, 62, 95 sq., 387.
—— testimony of the Lutherans for, 67n.
—— as not apostolic, 69, 95 sq.
—— as a development, 73 sq.
—— as viewed by Dr. Hatch, 74 sq., 95.
—— in choir with his presbyters, 101.
—— one alone in each see, 352, 387, 402.
—— a Coadjutor, 352.
—— his jurisdiction, 369, 369n., 370, 387, 388, 402.
—— best in a small diocese, 402n.
—— elected by his diocese, 402, 450.
—— election of, considered, 450, 451.
Blandina, martyr, 168.
Bodies, natural and spiritual, 203, 203n., 204.
Bogomiles, 436.
British, early Christianity, 287n.
Bunyan's, *Pilgrims Progress*, 40.
Burrhus, Ignatius' deacon and amanuensis, 47.

Cæcilia St., Martyr, 313n.
Cæcilianus, of Carthage, 367, 446n.
Cæcilius, bishop, 392.
Caius, or Gaius at Corinth, 35.
Callistus, bishop of Rome, 257, 304, 305, 314.
—— toward Monarchianism, 307 sq.
—— on post-baptismal sin, 309 sq.
Callistus, the Catacomb of, 313n.
—— his death, 314.
Calvin, on ecclesiastical polity, 46n., 467n.
—— on the sacraments, 270.
—— on the Sabbath, 467n.
Canon, of Scripture, 468, 469.
Capitolina, Martyr, 429.
Caracalla, Emperor, 350, 360, 361.
Carpophorus, 311.
Carpus of Thyatira, Martyr, 363.
Carthage, in the visions, 245.
—— description of its city life, 281, 282.
Cassian of Imola, 364.
Catechetical School in Alexandria, 322 sq.
Cathari, Novatians or Puritans, 413.
Catharists, 436.
Catholic, force of the word, 56n.
Celtic missionaries in England, 223.
Cerdon, Bishop of Alexandria, 87.
Charlemagne received Cyprian's remains, 420.
Charles, the Bald built church and monastery, 420.
Chiliasm, Millenarianism, 423, 424.
Choir, Ignatius illustration from it, 53, 54.
—— its use in early days, 53, 54.
Chosroes, of Armenia, 424.
Chrism, at baptism, 456, 457, 458, 459.
Christ, more than a mere leader, 1.
—— made a selection of fit leaders, 2.
—— His indwelling life in the church, 11, 262.
—— His revealing, 197, 262.
—— His Gospel essentials, 262 sq.
—— His age at death, 269.
—— date of His birth, 306n.
—— first called "God-Man," 346, 347.

Christ, His Godhead, 346, 347.
—— was careful in church organization, 64, 65.
—— the mind of the Father, 99, 100.
—— His miracles accepted by the apologists, 148.
—— the exact day of His death, 216, 217.
—— virgin born, 252, 254, 262, 268n.
Christian, picture of life by the Apologist, 126, 127, 128.
—— has slight relief under Hadrian, 130.
—— Martyrdom, 134, 135, 141, 163 sq.
—— misrepresentation by their enemies, 141, 145 sq.
—— feeling toward gods, 146.
—— facts and principles were foretold, 148 sq.
—— religion as a fashionable thing, 4, 9.
—— population computed, 10n., 116.
—— early Christian writings, 19 sq., 115, 116.
—— popularly disliked, and the reasons for it, 107 sq., 145 sq.
—— interference with marriage, 107.
—— and with family property, 107, 108.
—— could not live as the heathen, 108.
—— accused of crimes, 109, 147, 154, 166.
—— obedience to a law outside the Roman, 110, 147, 157n.
—— details of their persecutions, 114 sq., 163 sq., 214.
—— early worship, 115, 116, 146n., 151, 152.
—— Apostasies in persecution, 371 sq.
—— Science is Gnostic, 198.
—— day of rest and worship, 465.
—— the Lord's Day, 465, 468.
Christian, Holy Scriptures, 468, 469.
—— Apocrypha, 469.
Christianity lifted the idea of worship, 147n.
—— met a clamant need, 175 sq.
—— made a *religio licita*, 366, 442.
—— its organization, 447 sq.
—— its Faith, 451 sq.
—— its Theology, 453 sq.
—— its worship, 469 sq.
—— affected by contemporary civilization, vii.
Christus and *Chrestus*, 145, 146.
Church, representing two principles, 178, 447 sq.
—— her troubles over Easter, 210 sq.
—— as a perpetual witness, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265.
—— her use of tradition, 262 sq.
—— her ancient customs, 297 sq.
—— her restrictions regarding bishops, 352, 353.
—— had one bishop to a see, 352, 353.
—— building, 362, 362n.
—— on a Petrine base, 388, 389.
—— must have its bishops, 426, 427.
—— her theories criticised, 447 sq.
—— slow to disentangle sacrifice, 464.
—— the Mystical Body of Christ, xi.
—— received capable leaders, 1, 2.
—— its work in the Apostolic Age, 6, 42, 262 sq.
—— question between the older and the new, 6.
—— its task, 6, 7, 42.
—— its dangers, 7, 10, 55, 144, 145, 208.
—— in persecution, 7, 55, 105 sq., 130.
—— in prosperity under Constantine, 10, 119.

Church, evolutions in the American Church, 37n.
—— its feebleness, 42.
—— its spiritual strength, 43, 262, 263.
—— its unity essential, 55, 56, 212, 262, 263, 352, 353, 384 sq.
—— how was it originally governed, 61 sq., 118, 447 sq.
—— as a pronounced democracy, 78, 85.
—— sufficiently clear in Clement's *Epistles*, 92 sq.
—— and Empire, 105 sq., 141 sq.
—— as a solid organization, 119, 447.
—— as under Hadrian, 130.
—— as having been early corrupted and altered, 132.
Church-Government, theories of considered, 61 sq., 85 sq., 447 sq.
—— a matter of importance to Christ, 64, 65.
—— the Post-reformation views, 67 sq.
—— its nature at Corinth in St. Paul's time, 65 sq.
Claudius Apolinarius, Bishop of Hierapolis, 161, 162, 215.
—— his authority given by Eusebius, 162.
—— in the Paschal controversy, 215, 216.
Clemens, frequency of the name, 31.
Clement, of Alexandria,
—— had probably a Roman connection, 325n.
—— his training, 326, 327.
—— his claim to orthodoxy, 327, 328, 329.
—— his writings, 329 sq.
—— his *Stromata*, 320.
—— faults in his teaching, 332, 333.
—— of Alexandria, 19, 42, 66, 86, 189n., 205, 325 sq., 353, 463.
—— as scholar interpreter, 23n.
—— Platonist, 326.
Clement of Rome, his character, 39. 49, 96, 191.
—— his doubtful testimony, 92, 93, 94.
—— of Rome, his Epistles, 30 sq., 92, 96 sq., 191n.
—— their matter, 30 sq., 98.
—— their authorship, 31 sq.
—— their occasion, 34 sq., 98.
—— their quality, 37 sq., 93, 94, 95, 96.
—— their range of quotations, 39.
—— written in Latin, 40.
—— his date, 46, 97.
—— second Epistle, 59.
Clementine Recognitions, 190.
—— the plot of the story, 190, 191.
—— aim of their teaching, 194 sq.
—— tone Anti-Pauline, 194, 195.
Cleomenes, Sabellian, 256, 311.
Clerical parties, 36, 37, 38.
Coadjutor Bishop, 352.
Col. i. 26—201.
Commemoration of the faithful dead, 33.
Commodus, his reign, 157n., 173, 360, 463.
Commune Asiæ, 134.
Communion Service, described in detail, 472, 473.
Community of goods, 107.
—— its extent and principle, 107, 108.
Confession as a technical term, 16n.
Confirmation after baptism, 456, 457.
Congregationalism, 447, 450.
Conscience, as an obstruction to law, 111n.
Constantine, his motive in accepting the Church, 4, 59, 444.
—— published his Edict of Toleration, 5, 14.
—— made it profitable to be a Christian, 10.
—— his character, 17, 384n.

Constantine, in the Paschal controversy, 219.
—— in the Novatian schism, 384n.
—— his vision, 445.
—— triumph over Maxentius, 444, 445, 446.
—— his imperial policy, 449.
Constantinople, fifth council of, 357.
Constantius Chlorus, Emperor, 442, 444.
Controversy always changing its ground, 72, 84, 308.
—— on different topics, 208 sq., 308.
—— on Paschal observance, 208.
—— on Montanism, 208.
—— on God and the Holy Trinity, 208.
—— on Monarchianism, 307 sq.
Convenire ad and *cum*, 266.
Corinth, Clement's Epistles to the Church at, 31 sq.
—— parties at, 34 sq.
1 Cor. ii. 7—201.
—— v.—298.
—— xiv. 32—227.
—— xv. 7—65n.; xv. 44—203n.
2 Cor. ii.—298.
—— xi. 13—65.
Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, 379, 429.
—— had a rival Bishop, 380 sq.
—— died, 399.
—— his posthumous honors, 420.
Corrigenda, xiii.
Councils on the Paschal questions, 218 sq.
—— on Everlasting Punishment, 357.
—— intended to meet difficulties, 376, 377, 449.
—— African with Cyprian, 378, 379, 380, 400, 407.
—— frequent at Carthage, 392, 400, 407, 449n.
—— at Antioch, 431.
—— issuing canons, 449.
Councils, numerous before the Nicene, 449, 450.
—— Elvira, Arles, Ancyra, Neo-Cæsarea, and Nicæa, 449.
Creed, the Nicene, 451.
Creeds, their purpose, 249, 250, 262, 290 sq., 477.
—— earliest form and examples, 451.
—— modern additions to the, viii.
Crescens, Cynic, 155.
Cross, signing with, in baptism, 457.
Cup mixed, 272, 273, 274.
Curate, its meanings, 70.
Cyprian, his active charity, 393, 394.
—— appealed to from Gaul, 401.
—— opposed Roman aggressions, 408 sq.
—— opposed the rebaptisms, 408, 412, 457.
—— explanation of his strong feeling, 412.
—— his death, 412, 414, 417, 418, 419.
—— his banishment, 414, 416, 417.
—— lived in an atmosphere of divine providence, 414, 415.
—— his character, 419–21, 423, 431.
—— posthumous honors, 420.
—— his contemporaries 423 sq.
—— on baptism, 457.
—— on Christian worship, 470.
—— Bishop of Carthage, 366.
—— his origin and training, 366, 367.
—— on Church government, 63.
—— on the Eucharist, 271.
—— martyred, 365.
—— converted by Cæcilanus, 367.
—— his writings, 369 sq.
—— on Virgins, 370.
—— in the persecution, 371 sq.
—— his practical difficulties, 375 sq., 431.

Cyprian supported by the African councils, 378 sq., 449n.
—— on the Roman schism, 379 sq.
—— writes on Unity, 385, 386, 431.
—— criticisms upon his *De Unitate*, 386.
—— on the Petrine claims, 388.
—— is interpolated, 390n.
—— on schismatics, 391 sq.
—— on Eucharist, 392, 463.
—— on the sacraments, 393.
Cyril of Jerusalem, 471.

Damas, Bishop of Magnesia, 47.
Dan. vii. 9, 10—240.
—— ix. 24, 27—24n.
Deaconesses, two under torture, 116.
Dead, in an intermediate state, 468.
—— offerings for the, 297, 468.
—— prayer for, 297, 468, 475.
—— their condition, 396, 468.
Death better than life, 396, 397.
—— its intermediate state, 468.
Decius, Emperor, 363, 422.
—— great persecutor of the Christians, 363, 371.
Demetrian bishop of Samosata, 432.
Demetrius, Bishop, 324, 353.
—— complain about Origen, 353, 354, 355, 356.
Demiurge, Gnostic notion, 199, 250.
Didaché, The, 25 sq.
—— its Jewish tone, 29.
—— its date, 30.
Dinocrates, brother of St. Perpetua, 240, 241.
Diocese, its ancient definitions, 15n.
Diocletian Emperor, 360, 366, 422, 442, 444.
—— persecution, 440, 441, 442.
—— cause and course of the persecution, 442sq.
Diodore, layman of Antioch, 54n.
Diognetus, letter to, 60, 109, 161.
Dion Chrysostomus, 324.
Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, 27n., 357, 395n., 422, 423, 424, 429.
—— opposed the Roman aggression, 408, 409.
—— opposed Sabellianism, 424.
Dionysius, Bishop of Rome, 425, 432.
—— African Bishop, 410.
Diotrephes, 35, 36.
Ditheists, 308.
Docetæ, a Gnostic sect, 203.
Domitian, the Emperor, 31, 45.
—— a persecutor of the Christians, 31, 105, 114.
—— his motive in persecution, 105.
Domnus, Bishop of Samosata, 432.
Donatists, 282, 446n.
Dress, Tertullian on women's, 298.

Easter, the time for celebrating it, 21, 223.
—— controversy over the time, 209 sq.
Ebionism, 177 sq., 184, 189, 189n.
Ebionite line of thought, 178 sq.
Ebionites form two branches, 181.
—— Pharisaic, 181 sq.
—— Essene or Gnostic, 184 sq.
Ecstasy, forbidden to a prophet, 230.
—— used by the Montanists, 229, 230, 231.
—— its New Testament idea, 230.
Edersheim upon the Essenes, 184 sq.
—— on the Easter question, 217n.
Edict of Milan, 5, 446.
Egypt, in church history, 317 sq.
Elagabalus, Emperor, 361.
Elchesai, Syriac for Hidden Power, 190.
Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome, 233.

Eleutherus, excluded the Montanists, 235.
Emperor, his worship, 134, 138.
Eph. iii. 9, 11—201.
Epigonus, Sabellian, 256.
Episcopacy, early at Rome, 33.
—— its theory and usage, 64 sq.
—— opposition changing its ground, 73.
—— the non-Episcopalian view, 73 sq., 447.
—— as a development, 73, 450.
—— as not diocesan, 447 sq., 450, 451.
Episcopate in solidarity, 387.
Episcopoi, according to Dr. McGiffert, 81, 82.
Essenes, their tenets and practices, 184 sq.
—— their condition and numbers, 185, 186, 187.
—— their treatment of the Bible, 186.
—— their theology, 186.
—— their use of the Sacraments, 186, 187.
—— their influence upon Christianity, 187.
Eucharist, 27, 98, 151, 154, 187, 210, 213, 260, 270, 296, 342.
—— its consecration a priestly function, 76, 91, 95, 96, 98, 213, 270, 461, 462.
—— every Lord's Day, 96, 296.
—— as related to the Jewish system, 98, 209, 210.
Eucharist, its Kiss of Peace, 244n.
—— a sphere of spiritual power, 270.
—— teachings upon, 270 sq., 296.
—— received fasting, 299, 300.
—— by water alone, 392.
—— as a Sacrifice, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463.
—— as a service, 467, 470 sq.
Eucharistic Service, early, 27, 28, 210, 470 sq.
—— its form, 151, 152.
Euchratius, bishop, 369.
Eusebius, the historian, 13 sq., 45, 49, 59, 71, 87n., 221, 232, 233, 324, 327, 328, 410, 428, 429, 436, 443.
—— his place in history, 14, 15, 18, 71, 87n.
—— his death, 14.
—— his dates, 14.
—— his purpose in writing his history, 15 sq.
—— his fitness as a historian, 17, 18, 86, 161, 164, 428.
—— his teacher Pamphilus of Cæsarea, 17.
—— his continuators, 18.
—— he knew little Latin, 18.
—— simply as a witness, 86 sq.
—— his honesty, 86, 173.
—— his *Chronicle*, 120.
—— his account of Quadratus, 120, 121.
—— his account of the Paschal controversy, 219 sq., 221.
—— his account of the Cathedral at Tyre, 446.
Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria, 72.
Evarestus, Bishop of Rome, 32, 33, 45.
Everlasting punishment, 357.
Evodius, predecessor of Ignatius at Antioch, 87.
Evolution, a Christian principle, 2.
Exaltation of the Holy Cross, 420n.
Excommunication, 218, 219, 221, 314, 315.
Ecstasy, used by the Montanists, 229, 230.
—— often wild raving, 231.
Ex. xv. 25—51n.

Fabian, martyr, 363, 371, 380.
Fabius, Bishop of Antioch, 383n., 429.
Fasting in the Early Church, 299, 400, 401.
Father in relation to the Son, 100, 146, 250, 251, 307 sq., 345, 346, 424.

Faustus, Faustinus, and Faustinianus, 190.
Felicissimus, deacon at Carthage, 377, 390n.
Felicitas, martyr, 237.
—— in prison, 246.
Ferrar, Nicholas, 295n.
Fidus, bishop, 393.
—— consults on the sacraments, 393.
Firmilian, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, 63, 358, 383n., 429.
—— opposed the Roman aggression, 408, 409.
—— his death, 412.
—— presided at Antioch council, 431.
—— his death, 431.
First cause, the, 321.
Fisher, Dr. G. P. 467.
Flavia Domitilla, probably a Christian, 31.
—— Neapolis, 142.
Flavian, layman of Antioch, 54n.
Forged Decretals, 118.
Forgiveness of sin sacramentally, 251, 347.
Fortunatus, presbyter at Carthage, 377, 390n.
Fronto, heathen philosopher, 156, 157n., 157.
—— his influence against the Christians, 156.
Fructuosus, Bishop of Tarragona, 365.
—— his Christian endurance, 365.

Galerius, Emperor, 442, 444.
Gal. i. 19; ii. 9—65n.
—— ii. 13—21n.
Gallienus, Emperor, 366.
—— proclaimed Christianity "religio licita," 366.
Gen. iii. 15—240.
General Assembly of Asia, 134.
Gibbon, his sneers at Eusebius, 18.
Gnosis, knowledge or conscience, 196.
Gnosis, to Clement of Alexandria, 327.
Gnosticism, 7, 184 sq., 195 sq., 255, 271.
—— its heathen source, 195, 250.
—— rationalistic, 196 sq.
—— its Demiurge, 199 sq., 250.
—— its Æons, 201 sq., 256.
—— its Pleroma, 202.
—— the good in it, 204 sq., 206, 250, 328, 331.
—— on the sacraments, 275, 331.
—— allied to Manichæism, 432.
Gnostics, 15n., 184 sq.
—— their views of Christ and the Trinity, 186.
—— always Rationalistic, 196.
—— held matter as evil, 198 sq.
—— their system of Scripture interpretation, 200.
——their interpretation of the Incarnation, 202, 261.
—— were too early in thought, 271.
God, the idea in Gnosticism, 250.
—— His unity, 251, 253.
—— in Unity and Trinity, 319.
—— may visit in pestilence, 395.
Godhead, in the idea of Monarchianism, 251.
—— terms for relations in, 425.
God's, the Christian feeling about, 146.
Gordian, the Emperor, 363.
Gordius, Bishop of Jerusalem, 352.
Gospels, Versions discovered, vi.
Grapte, a deaconess, 44.
Greek, the prevailing language in Apostolic times, 40, 158.
—— at Rome and north Africa, 158, 159.
—— the language at Lyons and Vienne, 163.
—— the Church and its influence, 224.
—— rites and clubs, 225, 226.
—— life and learning in Alexandria, 317 sq., 322 sq.

Greek, Versions of Symmachus, etc., 338.
Gregory, Great, 470.
—— Illuminator, 434 sq.
—— story of his family and birth, 434.
—— consecration, 435.
—— his Church, 435.
Gregory of Cæsarea, 426.
Gregory of Nyssa, 429.
Gregory of Tours, 166.
Gregory Thaum, 339, 426 sq., 439.
—— story of his wonderful works, 427 sq., 439.
—— his writings, 429.
——friend of Origen, 429.
—— was the council at Antioch, 431.
—— learned from Origen, 340, 426.

Hadrian, the Emperor, 86.
—— built a new city at Jerusalem, 113, 114, 179.
—— witnessed an advance in Christianity, 118.
—— life under him pictured, 126–28.
—— his rescript, 129, 154, 158.
—— his policy, 130, 154.
Hagg. ii. 9—24n.
Hardy, E. G., oxford scholar, 105, 106 sq., 463n.
Harnack, Prof., 30, 49, 95.
Haroun al Raschid, 420.
Hatch, his views on church government, 75 sq., 95, 377n.
Heathen rites and ceremonies not attended by Christians, 108, 109, 150.
—— men and their ways severely viewed, 109.
—— superstitions, 114.
—— unprepared for Christian thought, 145.
—— shrines and worship, 147n., 150.
—— dissatisfied with heathenism, 175sq.
—— their misconceptions, 395.
Hebrew, study of, 337.
Heb. i. 2—201.
—— vi. 1, 2—459.
—— vi. 4–8; x. 26–29—298.
—— viii. 3—460.
—— xiii.7, 17, 24—38.
Helenus, bishop of Tarsus, 383n., 431.
—— presided at a council in Antioch, 431.
Heraclas, bishop of Alexandria, 357, 369n., 422.
Herbert, George, 295n.
Heresies, from the church's rivals, 175 sq.
—— attempted explanations, 249, 250.
—— in Tertullian's day, 288 sq.
Heresy and heretic, ambiguity in the terms, 405, 406.
Historical evolution, a great fact, 2.
Holy Ghost as the Word of God, 152n.
—— the montanistic fancy, 228, 229.
—— our spiritual life, 268.
Holy Scriptures, the Canon of, 468, 469.
—— read in worship, 470.
Homo ousios, 433.
—— its force and use, 433, 434.
Hooker, Richard, 295n., 467n.
Hymenæus, bishop of Jerusalem, 431.
Hypostasis and substantia, 425.

Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, 36, 37, 46 sq., 68, 87, 137, 466.
—— his Epistles, 46 sq., 99 sq.
—— his martyrdom, 46, 47, 48, 49, 68.
—— genuineness of the Epistles questioned, 48, 458n.
—— Epistles in two editions, 48.
—— his life obscure, 49.
—— his dates, 49, 68.
—— his character, 49, 50, 51, 259.
—— his characteristic sayings, 52, 68, 266.

Ignatius, his illustrations from medical practice, 52, 53.
—— those from music, 53.
—— his passion for martyrdom, 54 sq.
—— anxious for church unity, 55 sq., 103.
—— on church government, 68 sq., 94, 99, 101 sq., 447.
—— denounced the Gnostics, 203, 204.
—— his position criticised, 447 sq.
Illumination as Baptism, 458.
Incarnation as a doctrine, 8, 175, 261, 267, 268, 275.
—— the root of all history, 16n.
Independency, 447, 450, 451.
Infant salvation, 269.
Inspiration as a Christian force, 78, 91.
Interpretation, Gnostic, 200.
—— by Gnostic Pairs, 201.
Invocation, the Eucharistic, 474, 480.
Irenæus, his life and dates, 258, 334.
—— his place in church life, 258, 259, 260, 276, 290.
—— his writings, 260, 261.
—— on the heresies, 261, 290.
—— on the value of tradition, 263 sq., 277.
—— on the going to Rome, 266, 267.
—— on Gnosticism, 266 sq., 334.
—— on the Eucharist, 270 sq., 276, 461, 462.
—— his conservatism, 276, 277.
—— on the resurrection, 277.
—— on Chiliasm, 423.
—— as an authority, 33, 42, 45, 46, 70, 87, 88, 114, 132, 222, 278, 328.
—— pupil and friend of Polycarp, 133, 258.
—— on the Paschal question, 222, 223.
Irenarch, Roman official, 137.
Isa. i. 16–20—149.
Isa. xl. 12; xlix. 17; lxvi. 1—23, 24.
—— xlii. 1; xliii. 10; xlix. 5, 6; liii. 11—29n.

James, the Lord's brother an apostle, 65, 191.
—— first bishop at Jerusalem, 86, 192.
—— as apostolic leader, 192.
Jerome, as an authority, 19, 180, 337.
—— his views upon church government, 71, 72, 73.
—— his scripture translation, 183, 337.
—— on Origen's ordination, 356.
Jerusalem, its early Bishops, 86, 350 sq.
Jesus and Joshua, 464n.
Jews, their early call, 6.
—— the feeling against them, 23.
—— their sacrificial system, 98.
—— their hatred of Christians, 139.
—— what they longed for, 175 sq.
—— their Passover, 209, 210.
—— in Alexandria, 317 sq.
Jocundus, martyr, 243.
John, Baptist, the Ascetic, 437, 440.
John the Evangelist, wore the *petalon*, 220.
—— in his visions, 230.
—— reference to the Logos, 321 sq.
John the Evangelist, his death and age, 3, 350.
—— his allusion to Caius, 35.
—— could not settle the troubles at Corinth, 36.
—— banished by Domitian, 114.
—— his keeping of Easter, 210, 216.
John iii. 5—454.
—— vii. 5—65n.
—— vii. 39—455.
—— viii. 57—269.
—— xiii. 10—297.

John xiv. 16, 26—165.
—— xiv. 28—346.
—— xx. 20, 23—78.
1 John ii. 1—165.
2 John 7—203.
Josephus, 97.
—— used the language of a Jew, 97, 98.
Judaism, a danger to the Christian church, 6.
Julia Mamæa, 339, 353, 361.
Julius Africanus, 345.
Justin Martyr, the apologist, 141 sq., 270, 325.
—— his birthplace and family connection, 142, 454.
—— his education and training, 142, 143.
—— his conversion, 143.
—— his apologies two, 144.
—— appealed to prophecy and change of life, 149.
—— his other writings, 155.
—— his death and dates, 156.
—— on the Eucharist, 275, 277, 466, 470.

Kansas' *Prohibitory Law*, 111n.
Kenoma, as applied to the world, 203.
Kiss of Peace in the Eucharist, 244n., 248, 475.
Knowledge, as viewed by the Gnostics, 198 sq.
Knox, John, 298, 467n.

Labarum, account of Constantine's, 445.
Lactantuis, "the Christian Cicero," 157, 441.
—— his writings, 441.
Lapsi, and how to be dealt with, 189, 372 sq.
Latin language in its Christian use, 158.
Laud, Archbishop, 415.
Law, the Roman against the Christian conscience, 110, 111, 112.
Law, the Kansas law against intemperance, 111n., 112.
Lawrence, martyred, 365.
Leonidas, Christian martyr, 335.
Leontius, bishop of Cæsarea, 435.
Libellatici, 373, 378.
Licinius, Emperor, 446.
Lightfoot, referred to, 14, 30, 39, 50, 65, 129, 138n., 157n., 184, 213n., 305, 315n.
—— on the *Epistle of Barnabas*, 25.
—— his work upon Ignatius' *Epistles*, 48.
—— differed from by our author, 53.
—— on the Christian ministry, 65, 73, 97, 103.
—— on the Essenes, 184.
Liturgical ceremonies, 480, 481, 482.
Liturgy, 27.
—— in ancient times, 470.
—— ancient forms, 471, 472.
—— the modern, 472, 480, 481.
—— described in detail, 472.
Logos in theology, 321, 329.
Lord's Day, 466, 467.
Lord's Prayer used for Eucharistic consecration, 479.
Lord's Supper, not an early name, 27.
Lucius, Christian Martyr, 155.
Lucius, bishop of Rome, 399.
Luke vi. 16—16.
Luther, Martin, 50, 284, 467n.
Lyons and Vienne, the martyrs of, 163 sq.

Macrianus, usurping Emperor, 366, 422.
Macrinus, Emperor, 361.
Magnus, layman, 393.
Mal. i. 11—460.
Malchion, presbyter of Antioch, 431.
Mani, Persian, 432, 436.
—— "the Maniac," 436.
Manichæism, 435 sq.
—— its Eastern origin, 435.

Manichæism allied to Gnosticism, 435, 436.
—— allured St. Augustine, 436.
—— its mediæval development, 436.
Marcellinus, first *pope* of Rome, 369n.
Marcia, concubine of Commodus, 173, 312.
Marcian, bishop of Artes, 401, 402.
Marcion, heretical bishop, 205, 206, 275.
Marcosians, heretics, 156.
Marcus Aurelius, Emperor, 131, 144, 146n., 160, 162, 163, 363.
—— his reign, 156, 157n.
—— his severity to Christians, 156, 163, 167.
Marcus, a philosopher, 132.
Marcus Minucius Felix, 156, 157.
—— occasion of his *Octavius*, 156.
—— borrowed from Tertullian, 156n.
—— account of the *Octavius*, 157, 158, 159.
Mark iii. 16–19—64.
Marriage, disinclination to, by the Christians, 107.
—— as treated by Tertullian, 301.
—— second, 302, 303.
—— its defence by Clement, 330.
—— for the clergy, 432.
Martial, bishop of Merida, 400.
Martyrdom, under Decius, 363 sq.
—— under Diocletian, 442 sq.
Martyrdom, a passion for it, 54, 55, 56, 159, 160, 167, 335, 376, 397.
—— of Polycarp, 132 sq.
—— the birthday of, 140.
—— its nobility, 159, 167, 397.
—— at Lyons and Vienne, 163 sq., 233, 259.
—— as witness-bearing, 167, 168, 170, 236, 237, 413.
—— as proof of obstinacy, 169.
—— the "Frenzy of Caracalla," 350.
Mason, Dr., 458n.
Matter, regarded as evil by the Gnostics, 198 sq.
Matt. x. 2-4—64.
—— x. 10—336.
—— x. 36—136.
—— x. 40—91.
—— xxv. 31-46—278.
—— xxviii. 18-20—78.
Matthias selected as a fit leader, 2.
—— called an apostle, 65.
Maurus Rabanus, 297.
Maxentius, Emperor, 444.
Maximian, Emperor, 442, 444.
Maximilla, Montanist, 228, 232.
—— perhaps a suicide, 232n.
Maximin, Emperor, 358, 362, 444.
Maximus, bishop of Alexandria, 432.
Maximus, bishop of Bostra, 431.
McGiffert's translation of Eusebius' *History*, 15n., 214, 358n.
—— his view of Church government, 81 sq.
—— teaching of his *Apostolic Age*, 81, 95n.
—— his theories unsatisfactory, 82.
—— his treatment of the Acts of the apostles, 83.
Melancthon on Ecclesiastical polity, 67n.
Melito, bishop of Sardis, and his *Apology*, 161, 214, 220.
—— wrote books on the *Pascha*, 214.
—— his books are lost, 215.
Methodius of Tyre, bishop of Patara, 440.
—— a voluminous writer, 440, 441.
—— opposed Origen's teaching, 440.
Millenariaism, 453.
Millennium and Chiliasm, 423, 453.
Milman, Dean, quoted, 40, 313.
Miltiades, Christian writer, 161.

Ministry, its orders essential to unity, 55, 56.
—— its threefold character, 61 sq., 98, 100.
Minucius Fundanus, 154, 158.
Minucius (Marcus Felix) his *Octavius*, 157 sq.
Missa Catechumenorum, 472n.
Miracles believed in by Justin Martyr, 148.
—— were appealed to by the apologists, 148.
—— Christ accepted, 148.
—— post apostolic ones, 351.
Missions in the Church, 434 sq.
Mommsen, German scholar, 105, 106, 129.
Monarchianism, 248 sq., 307 sq., 431.
—— its purpose and principle, 249 sq.
—— a false form of, 252.
—— controversy upon, 307 q.
Monarchical Episcopacy, 33, 68.
Monasticism, 437 sq.
—— how related to Manichæism, 437.
—— its principle considered, 437, 438.
Montanism, 208, 228, 229, 292 sq.
—— the controversy, 224, 292 sq.
—— its principles, 228, 292.
—— its ecstasies and prophetesses, 229.
—— its reputed inconsistency, 232.
—— its weakness, 232, 233, 245, 254, 257, 294.
—— had a noble and holy following, 233, 245, 303.
—— its leaders honest self-deceivers, 233, 245, 259, 303.
—— wanted Catholic recognition, 233, 260, 303.
—— its home in Phrygia, 235.
—— stamped out by Justinian, 235.
—— followed by Tertullian, 235, 292 sq.
Montanism, separated from the Church, 236, 245.
—— an unhealthy movement, 249, 254, 303.
Montanist Martyrs, 237 sq.
—— baptism disallowed, 410.
Montanus, the Phrygian, 224, 227, 231n.
—— his preaching, 227, 231n.
—— perhaps a suicide, 232n.
Mosaic system in relation to Christianity, 178 sq.
Moses as a Mystic, 22.
—— favorite with the Essenes, 186.
Mucius Scævola, 160.
Muratorian Fragment, 45.
Mystical Divine Supper, 27n.
Mystical Divine Table, 27n.
Mystical Supper used by Dionysius of Alexandria, 27.
Mysticism, when Gnostic, 200.

Naasenes, heretics, 196, 199.
—— Gnostics, 199.
Namphamo, martyr, 237.
Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem, 350, 351, 428.
—— a witness of Christian thought, 351.
—— covered by Romance, 351, 352.
Natalius, bishop, 252.
Nature and Personality, 346.
Nazarenes, or Christians, 178.
—— forming a narrower sect, 179, 180, 181, 435.
—— called later, Mandæans, 435.
Negro as a parallel to the Phrygian, 226.
Nemesion, martyr, 364.
Nepos, bishop, 424.
Nero, his motive in persecuting the Christians, 105.
—— the character of the persecution, 110.
Nerva the Emperor, 114.
Nestorian heresy, 472.
Nicæa, the first council of, 4, 219, 223, 297, 384n.

Nicæa, condemned heretical baptisms, 413.
Nicetes, father of Herod the Irenarch, 137, 140.
Nicolaitanes, 205.
Nicolas, a Gnostic, 205.
Noetus, a Sabellian, 254, 255, 256, 301.
Novatian, presbyter, 371, 376, 377, 379.
—— appeals to Cyprian, 379.
—— made a rival bishop, 380 sq., 400, 429.
—— his character, 380, 382.
Novatians and the schism, 382 sq.
—— connected with the rebaptisms, 403 sq.
Novatianist, 382 sq., 401.
Novatus, presbyter, 377.
—— in the Decian persecution, 377.
—— in the Roman schism, 381 sq.
Novatus, schismatic, 315n.

Octavius, a Christian in controversy, 157.
Octavius of Marcus Minutius, described, 159.
Offering made by the presbyter to God, 95n., 96.
Onesimus, Bishop of Ephesus, 47.
Ophites, heretics, 196.
—— Gnostics, 199.
Optatus, Bishop, 244, 247.
Ordination, its rules, 355, 356, 362.
Oriental Churches and Old Style, 224.
Origen, on Eschatology, 348, 349.
—— his later life, 349 sq., 361, 426.
—— his lay preaching, 353.
—— head of the Alexandrian school, 354.
—— took holy orders, 355.
—— his ordination resented, 355, 356.
—— on Everlasting Punishment, 357 sq.
—— as a heretic, 357.
Origen, his school at Cæsarea, 358.
—— his visit to Achaia, 358n.
—— his death and mourning, 358, 359.
—— correspondent of Gordian, 363.
—— his allegorism, 424, 452.
—— on the Eucharist, 463.
—— 19, 42, 334 sq., 353.
—— his early training, 334, 335.
—— his desire for martyrdom, 335.
—— opposed Gnosticism, 336.
—— his asceticism, 336.
—— his love of learning, 337, 338, 339, 452.
—— his Scripture studies, 337, 338, 339, 344 sq.
—— his *Hexapla* and *Tetrapla*, 338n., 339.
—— his opinions and writings, 340 sq., 424, 452, 453.
—— on Catholicity, 340, 341.
—— on the sacramental system, 341, 342, 343.
—— on theology, 345, 424.
Overseer as the equivalent of Bishop, 73 sq., 80.
Oxford school on the sacraments, 270.

Pamphilus, presbyter of Cæsarea and teacher of Eusebius, 17.
Pantænus, presbyter, 324, 325, 353.
—— his writings, 324.
—— his pupil Clement, 325.
Pantheism in Phrygia, 224 sq.
Papacy as a human invention, 67, 219.
—— Mediæval, 118.
Papias, his lost writings, 59 sq., 278.
—— bishop of Hierapolis, 59, 278.
—— a chiliast, 59.
Papirius, in the Paschal controversy, 220.
Paraclete, the Comforter and Advocate, 165n.

Paraclete, its Montanistic phase, 228.
Parish, its ancient and modern definitions, 15n.
Parties strong and active in the early church, 34 sq., 35, 36.
—— a clerical party on the side of Authority, 36, 37.
Pascha Anastasimon, Easter, 214n.
—— *Stauros imon*, Good Friday, 214.
Paschal Controversy 208 sq.
—— season and its ceremonies, 297.
Passover, the time for its Christian observance, 209 sq.
—— as a Jewish feast, 209 sq.
—— practical settlement of the question, 223.
Patripassianism, 248, 254, 307 sq.
Paul, selected as a fit leader, 192, 269.
—— his martyrdom, 3.
—— a Christian Mystic, 22, 189n.
—— called an Apostle, 65, 69, 91.
—— his want of Authority at Corinth, 78, 189.
—— as not writing Timothy and Titus, 80, 83.
—— appealed to by the Gnostics, 203.
—— on dress, 298, 299.
—— in Phrygia, 227.
Paul of Samosata, 430.
—— his life and character, 430.
—— friend of Zenobia, 430.
—— charges against, 430, 431, 432.
—— condemned and deposed, 431.
—— his election irregular, 432.
—— his position and actions, 432 sq.
Paulianists condemned, 413.
Penitence, forgiveness on, 309 sq.
Penitents, to be dealt with, 297, 298, 309 sq., 375 sq.
Perfect, a title of Christians, 264.
Periods in the Post Apostolic Age, 174.
Perpetua and Felicitas, martyrs, 237 sq.
Persecution by the Emperors, 105 sq., 214, 360 sq., 442 sq.
—— details of, 114 sq., 442 sq.
—— under Decius, 363 sq., 371 sq.
—— causing apostasies, 371 sq.
Person, question upon the term, 253, 346.
Personality, and nature, 346.
Pestilences, 393, 394.
—— God's visitations, 395, 397, 398.
1 Pet. ii. 24—51n.
—— iv. 15—409n.
—— v. 1—71.
—— v. 5—82.
Petalon, on the mitre, 220n.
Peter, as an Apostle, 69.
—— his relation to the other Apostles, 191, 192.
—— his ecclesiastical leadership, 192.
Peter, as the church foundation, 388, 389, 408.
Philip, the Arabian Emperor, 339, 363.
—— correspondent of Origen, 363.
Philip, the Evangelist, 120n.
—— two bearing the name, 120n.
Philip, of Side, 324.
Philip, of Tralles, Asiarch, 134.
Philippi, supposed change of Ministry, 79.
Philo, the Jew, 320 sq.
—— his speculations, 320 sq.
Philosophy and theology, 328, 329.
Philostorgius, the historian, 18.
Philotheos, Bryennios finder of the *Didaché*, 25, 26.
Phœnix, story of told by Clement, 39.
Phrygian race, 225, 226.
—— their religious affinities, 225, 226.
—— extent of the province, 225n.
—— had an degraded people, 226.

Phrygian, course of Christianity in, 227.
—— Montanism, 232, 235.
Pius, Bishop of Rome, 32, 45, 88.
—— his date, 45.
—— a brother of Hermas, 45, 46.
Pionius, of Smyrna, Martyr, 363.
Plague, and pestilence, 394.
Plato, his philosophizing, 8n., 320.
Platonism, 320 sq, 326.
Pliny, the Roman governor, 54.
—— his correspondence with Trajan, 114, 115-18.
Polybius, Bishop of Tralles, 47.
Polycart, Bishop of Smyrna, 47, 49, 58, 114, 134, 163, 206, 212.
—— his letter from Ignatius, 47, 58.
—— his letter to the Philippians, 58, 79.
—— his martyrdom, 58, 59, 132 sq., 214, 228.
Polycart, pupil and friend of St. John, 132.
—— question of his age, 137, 212n.
—— his interest in Easter observance, 212, 213n., 214, 220.
Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, writes to Victor, 219.
Polyeuctus, Martyr, 363.
Pontianus, Bishop of Rome, 362.
Pontius, Martyr at fifteen, 169.
Pontius, Cyprian's biographer, 368, 394, 395.
Poor, a favorite Christian idea, 177.
Pope, real force of the word, 369n.
—— modern view of, xi., xii.
Popular feelings against the Christians, 107, 113.
—— its danger, 113.
Post Apostolic Age, its period, 1, 3, 297.
—— propriety of the Name, 1.
—— questions in it to be settled 6, 297, 447 sq.
—— its enormous task, 6, 7, 8, 297.
—— its authors, 18 sq.
—— if "the Angel of the church at Smyrna," 133n.
—— Periods of history, 174, 175 sq.
—— its organizing, 447 sq.
Post reformation thought, 11, 67.
—— ideas on church government, 67 sq.
Pothinus, Bishop of Lyons, 163, 170, 259.
—— his martyrdom, 170.
Prayer, standing at, 296.
Praxeas, confessor, 256, 257, 289, 308.
—— his influence at Rome, 257.
—— if Patripassianist, 257, 308.
Pressensé quoted, viii.
Presbyter, having different meanings, 70, 82, 95.
—— his offices, 70, 82, 95.
—— as true successor to the apostolate, 101.
Presbyterate, as developed into the Episcopate, 73, 74, 75, 76, 82.
Priesthood, as a Christian idea, 464, 465.
Primtive Church, its corruption, 9.
Priscilla, Montanist, 228, 232.
Priscus, father of Justin Martyr, 142.
Privatus, Bishop, 378.
Proculus, a Christian, 360.
Prophecy as a Christian force, 78, 81.
—— appealed to by the apologists, 148, 149.
Prophets, in the early church, 29 sq., 81, 89, 227.
—— as under the spirit, 230
Prov. viii. 22, 23—322.
—— xvi. 6—390.
Psychics, of Tertullian, 293, 294.
Ps. xxxi. 22; cxvi. 11—230.
—— xxxiv. 8—240.
—— xcvi. 5—146.
Ptolemæus, Christian martyr, 154.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, 318.
Publius Bishop of Athens, martyred, 132.
Pudens, martyr, 247.
Puller, *Primitive Saints*, 267n.
Purgatory, 242, 468.
Puritan teaching and temper, 294, 295, 309 sq., 446n.
—— party at Carthage, 382 sq., 446n.
Pusey, Dr., 357.

Quadratus, his *Apology*, 120.
—— the little known of him, 120, 121.
—— account given by Eusebius, 121.
—— the father of historical method, 121.
—— his testimony to the Saviour, 121.
Quarto-Deciman Controversy, 209 sq., 216, 223, 224, 255, 259.
Quintus, martyr, 243.
Quintus, Bishop in Mauretania, 407.

Ramsay, Prof., as authority upon *The Church and Empire*, 105 sq., 225n.
Rationalism, as against Traditionalism, 196, 197.
Rebaptism, controversy over, 403 sq., 408.
Reformation, view upon Episcopacy, 67n.
—— serious question upon,
Regeneration, in baptism, 149, 150, 454.
Regulus, 160.
Relics of Polycarp, 140.
Resurrection, and the Millennium, 423.
—— as part of the Catholic Faith, 452.
—— of the body, 452.
—— as connected with baptism, 456, 457.
Rev. i., ii., iii. 66.
—— i. 14—240.
—— ii. 2—65.
Rev. ii. 6, 15—205.
—— ii. 10—133n.
—— xx. 4-6—277.
Revelation, its amount and value, 208, 322.
—— the montanistic, 228.
Réville, *Les Origines de l'Episcopat*, 77, 78, 79.
—— his views stated, 77, 78, 79.
—— his poor arguments, 79n.
Revocatus, martyr, 237, 247.
Roman Empire, 442.
Roman Emperors toward Christianity, 105 sq., 360 sq.
—— their plea and law, 106 sq.
—— made objects of worship, 115n.
Roman Church quarrels with the East, 218 sq., 233.
—— her claims to authority, 265, 266, 402.
—— as a place for appeals, 266, 402.
—— her pope, 267.
—— her transubstantiation, 271 sq.
—— her explanations and additions, 292.
—— two bishops charged with heresy, 316.
—— her unity, 386, 387.
—— on the Petrine foundation, 387 sq., 408.
—— aggression opposed, 408.
Rom. xvi. 23—35.
—— xvi. 7—65.
Rome, list of its early bishops, 32, 33, 45, 87, 195, 419.
—— and Carthage resumed peaceful relations, 414.
Russians observe Old Style, 224.
Rusticus, Roman magistrate, 156.

Sabbath question, 25, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469.
Sabellianism, its purpose, 249, 254, 308 sq., 345, 424.
Sabellius, 257, 308.
Sabinus, bishop of Leon, 400.
Sacrificati, 373.

Sacrifice, as a Christian idea, 459 sq.
Sagaris, bishop and martyr, 220.
Salmon, Dr., 26, 30, 42, 45, 46, 157n., 236.
Salvum lotum, 247n.
Sanctus, martyr, 168.
Sapor, Persian King, 366, 394.
Saturninus, martyr, 243.
—— heretic, 196.
Saturus, martyr, 239n., 242, 244n., 246, 247, 248.
—— his visions of Paradise, 242, 243 sq.
Schaff, Dr., 46, 236.
—— his views upon Episcopacy, 68, 70, 73.
Scholarship, advancing, v. sq.
Scillitan Martyrs, 237.
Scripture, Gnostic systems of interpretation, 200.
—— the Septuagint version, 318, 319.
—— translations of, 183.
Sennen, martyr, 364.
Septimius, Emperor, 360.
Septuagint, 183, 318, 338.
Service, daily, 469, 470.
—— weekly, 470 sq.
Sestertius, its value, 393n.
Severus (Alexander), 173, 339, 361, 362, 444.
—— (Lucius Septimius), 173, 237, 326.
Silas, called an Apostle, 65.
Simon Magus, 191, 195n., 261.
—— reappears in German story, 195.
Slaves, often educated, 32.
Socrates, the historian, 18.
Sozomen, the historian, 18.
Spirit, the Holy Spirit, 186 sq.
—— his place in theology, 186, 187, 228, 229, 268.
Spirituals of Tertullian, 293, 294.
Stations, in Tertullian's time, 299.
Statius, Quadratus, proconsul, 134.
Stephen, bishop of Rome, 399.
Stephen, his disputes with Cyprian, 399 sq.
—— his real position, 407, 408, 413.
—— accused of aggressions, 408, 409.
—— his death and its results, 413, 414.
Substance and *Person*, 425.
Sunday observance discussed, 6n., 152, 210, 211.
—— its forms of service, 152.
—— its observances, 153, 211.
—— the reasons for its special observance, 153.
—— the day for Easter, 210, 211.
—— the weekly feast of resurrection, 211.
Superintendence of churches in early times, 66.
Symeon, son of Clopas, bishop of Jerusalem, 86.
Symmachus, Ebionite and translator, 183.
—— his *Version*, 338.

Tacitus, the historian, 105.
Tatian, the Assyrian, 160.
—— his works, 160, 160n.
Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, vi. 25 sq., 70, 476, 481.
—— its discovery and condition, 25, 26.
—— its contents, 26.
—— its date, 29, 30.
—— its tone and teaching, 27 sq., 70, 89 sq.
Te Deum, origin of its phrases, 397n.
Telesphorus, a Martyr, 131.
Temple, as spiritualized by Barnabas, 24 sq.
Tertullian on fasting, 299 sq.
—— on Christian marriage, 301 sq.
Tertullian, account of, 279 sq.
—— his new theological terms, 280, 284.
—— his training, 280 sq.
—— his writings, 283 sq.

Tertullian, his dates, 282.
—— his apologetics, 285 sq.
—— as a controversialist, 288 sq.
—— against the heretics, 289.
—— as a witness, 108.
—— his language in writing, 159.
—— a montanist, 209, 235, 236, 256, 292 sq.
—— on the Eucharist, 271, 275.
—— his practical writings, 292 sq., 295 sq.
—— his progress of thought, 293 sq.
—— on penitents, 297.
—— on women's dress, 298.
—— his views on baptism, 404, 405, 457.
—— on the Intermediate State, 468.
Tertullianists, at Carthage, 236n.
Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 179.
Theoctistus, bishop of Cæsarea, 353, 355, 383n.
Theodoret, the historian, 18, 54n., 63.
Theodotion, his *Version*, 338.
Theodotus, of Byzantium, 252, 431.
Theodotus, banker, 252.
Theology, its era of evolution, 8, 11.
Theophilus, bishop Antioch and his writings, 161.
—— first to mention "Trinity" as a word, 161.
Theoteonus, bishop of Cæsarea, 431.
1 Thess. i. 1—65n.
—— v. 12—38.
2 Thess.
1 Tim. iii. 1—63.
—— iii. 2—77.
—— iv. 12—75.
—— v. 17—38, 77.
Thraseas, bishop and martyr, 220.
1 Tim. i. 17—201.
Tiridates, son of Chosroes, 424.
Tradition, the witness to truth, 263, 264, 265.
Traditor, his position, 446n.
Trajan, the Emperor, 3, 188.
—— his correspondence with Pliny, 114, 115–18.
—— his edict regarding the Christians, 117.
—— his policy as compared with Hadrian's, 130.
Trinity, the doctrine authorized, 8, 251, 267, 268.
—— controversy on the Doctrine, 208, 251 sq.
—— *Modal Trinity*, 257.
Thundering Legion, story of the, 161, 162.
Thurificati, 373.
Titus Flavius Clemens, probably a Christian, 31.
Titus, the Emperor, at Jerusalem, 113.

Unction, at baptism, 455.
Unity, essential in the Church, 34 sq., 55 sq.
—— modern thoughts of it, viii., 58.
—— in the Godhead, 251.
—— in the Episcopate, 386 sq.
—— tendency toward Christian, viii.
Urbicus, city prefect, 154.
Ursula, St., and her Virgins, 363.

Valens, presbyter, 58.
Valentinians, heretics, 196, 261.
Valentinus, heretic, 202.
Valerian, Emperor, 366, 414, 423.
Verus, his reign, 157n.
Vettius, Epagathus, young man in Gaul, 165.
Vicarious, ordination, 63.
Victor, a Roman bishop, 158.
Victor, Bishop of Rome, 218, 255, 256, 259, 305, 306.
—— threatened to excommunicate, 218, 219.
—— in the Paschal controversy, 218, 219, 259.
—— excommunicated, the Asiatics, 221, 222.

Vigellius, Saturninus, proconsul, 237.
Virgins and their dress, 370.
Vulgate, 183.

Wakeman, writer of history, 287n.
Waldenses, 177n.
Warren, Rev. F. E., 482.
Week, days of the, 153, 153n.
Wesleyan, Methodism and Montanism, 236.
Westcott, referred to, 14, 40.
Worship, its idea elevated by Christianity, 146n., 469.
—— considered as daily and weekly, 469 sq.
Worshipped, as applied to God by the Jews, 23n.

Xavier, Francis, 49.
Xystus, bishop of Rome, 365, 409, 444.
—— beheaded, 416.

Zephyrinus, bishop of Rome, 255, 256, 257, 304, 306, 349.
—— toward monarchianism, 307 sq.
—— on post-baptismal sin, 309 sq.
—— meets Origen, 349.
Zahn, German scholar, 42, 50.
Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, 430, 432.
Zwinglianism and the sacraments, 270, 273.